VARIATION AND CHANGE IN NEWFOUNDLAND FRENCH: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF CLITIC PRONOUNS

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by

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ABSTRACT

The native French population of Newfoundland is with few exceptions restricted to four communities--L'Anse-à-Canards, Cap St.-Georges, La Grand'Terre, and Stephenville--in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area of the west coast. The French spoken here is a little-studied variety of Acadian. In this thesis covariation of a number of phonological and grammatical variables with both linguistic environment and a number of social factors is quantified. While the main orientation of the study is sociolinguistic, Labovian techniques developed for a single speech community have been implemented in the four Francophone communities of the area. Thus the study combines elements of the dialect geographer's approach with the methodology current in sociolinguistics.

The dependent variables all relate to clitic pronoun usage. They include phonological variation of third person subject clitics and of object clitics lui, leur, and en. Grammatical variables include third person case and number marking, variation in cliticization of first, second, and third person object pronouns, of reflexive pronouns and of y and en.

Both phonological and grammatical variation were found to be conditioned by linguistic and social factors. For example, phonological environment affects deletion of the /l/ of third person subject clitics. Loss of third person case marking is more prevalent in the faire-infinitive grammatical construction. Unlike in many other sociolinguistic studies, the social variable sex did not condition variation

to any great degree. The intracommunity variable locality was found to be somewhat more important. Younger speakers in one community, La Grand'Terre, stood out as less conservative than their counterparts in other communities. Age emerged as the most important nonlinguistic variable in this study. Younger speakers, for example, tend to cliticize object pronouns less often than do older speakers, which may well mark a linguistic change in progress.

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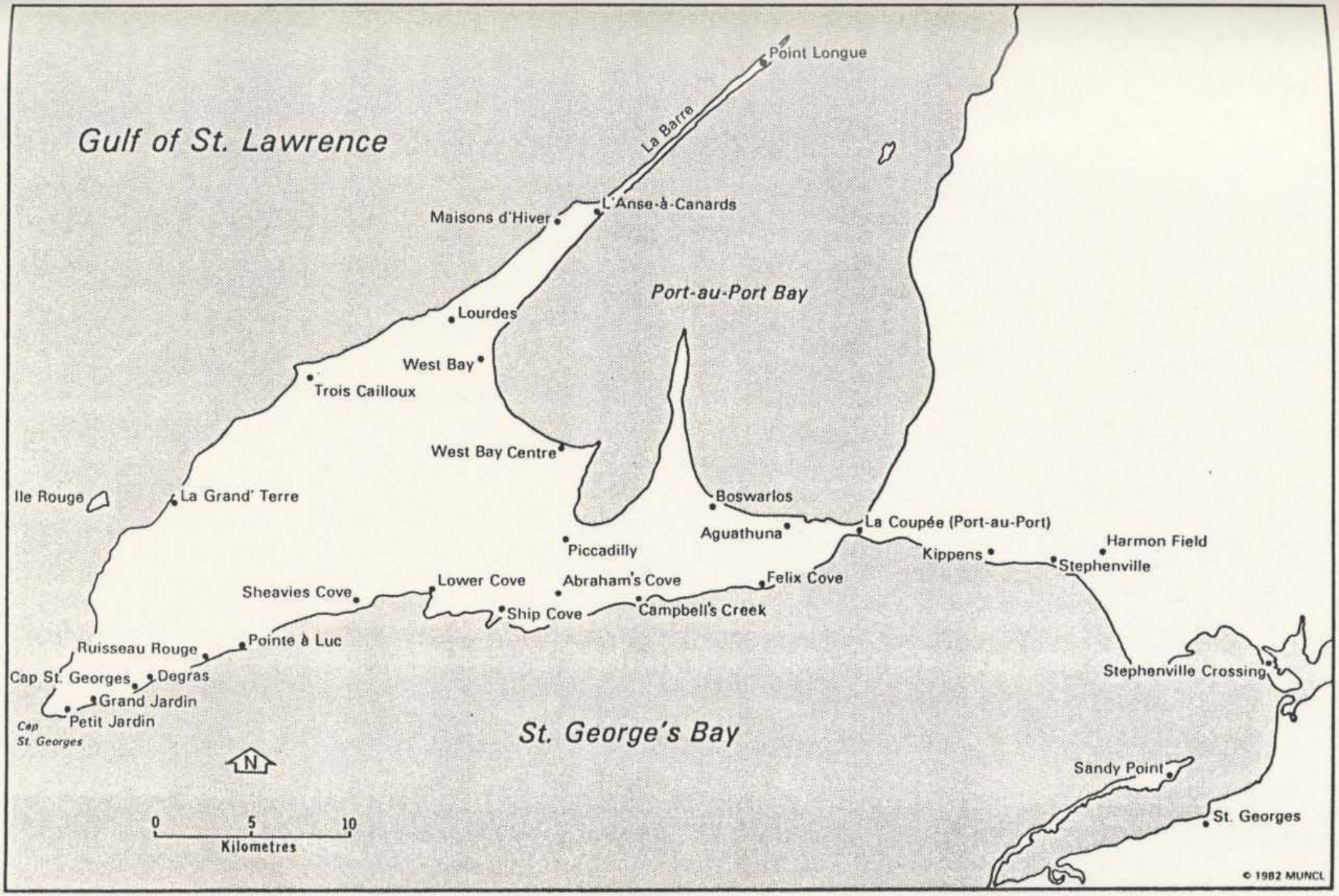

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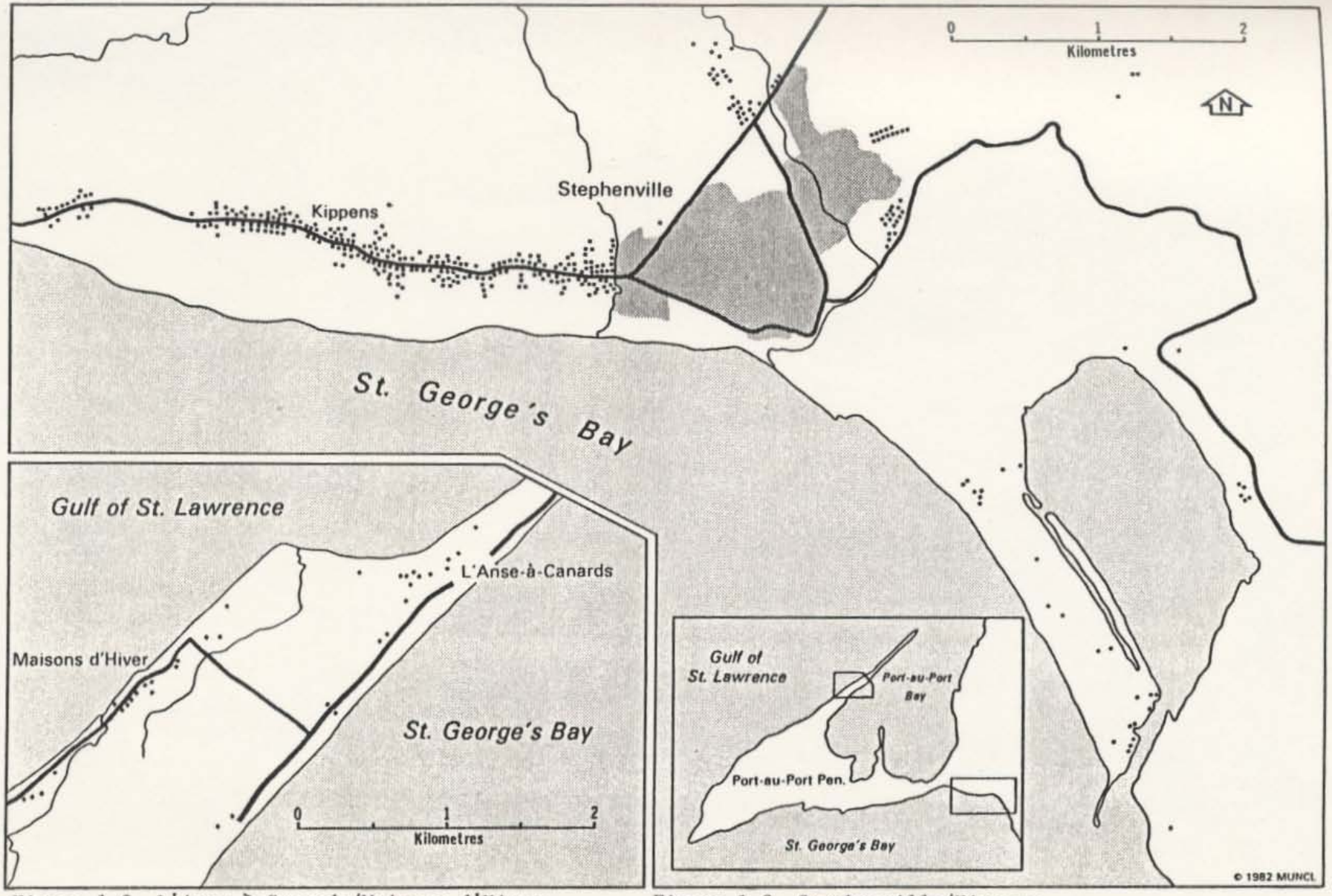

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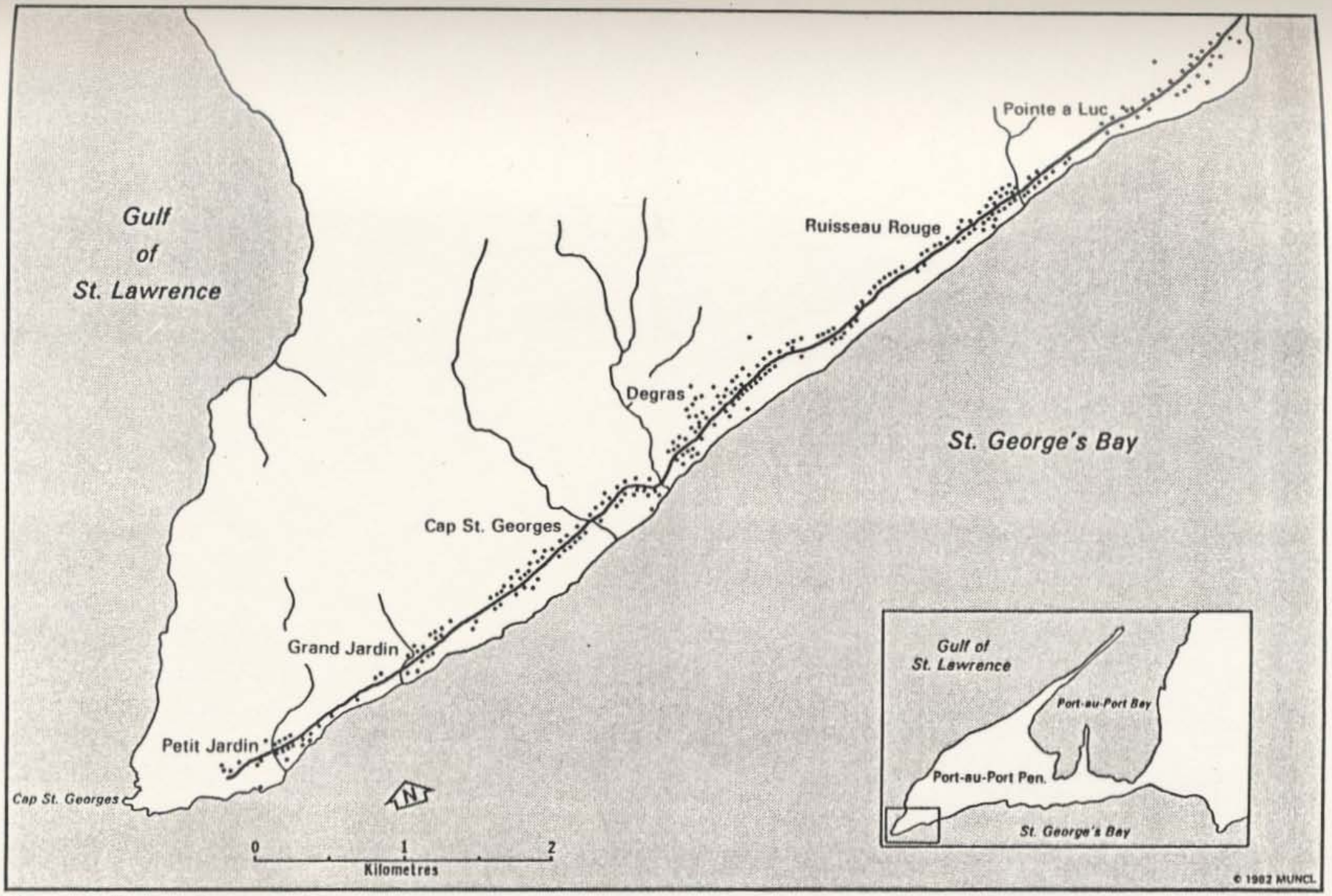

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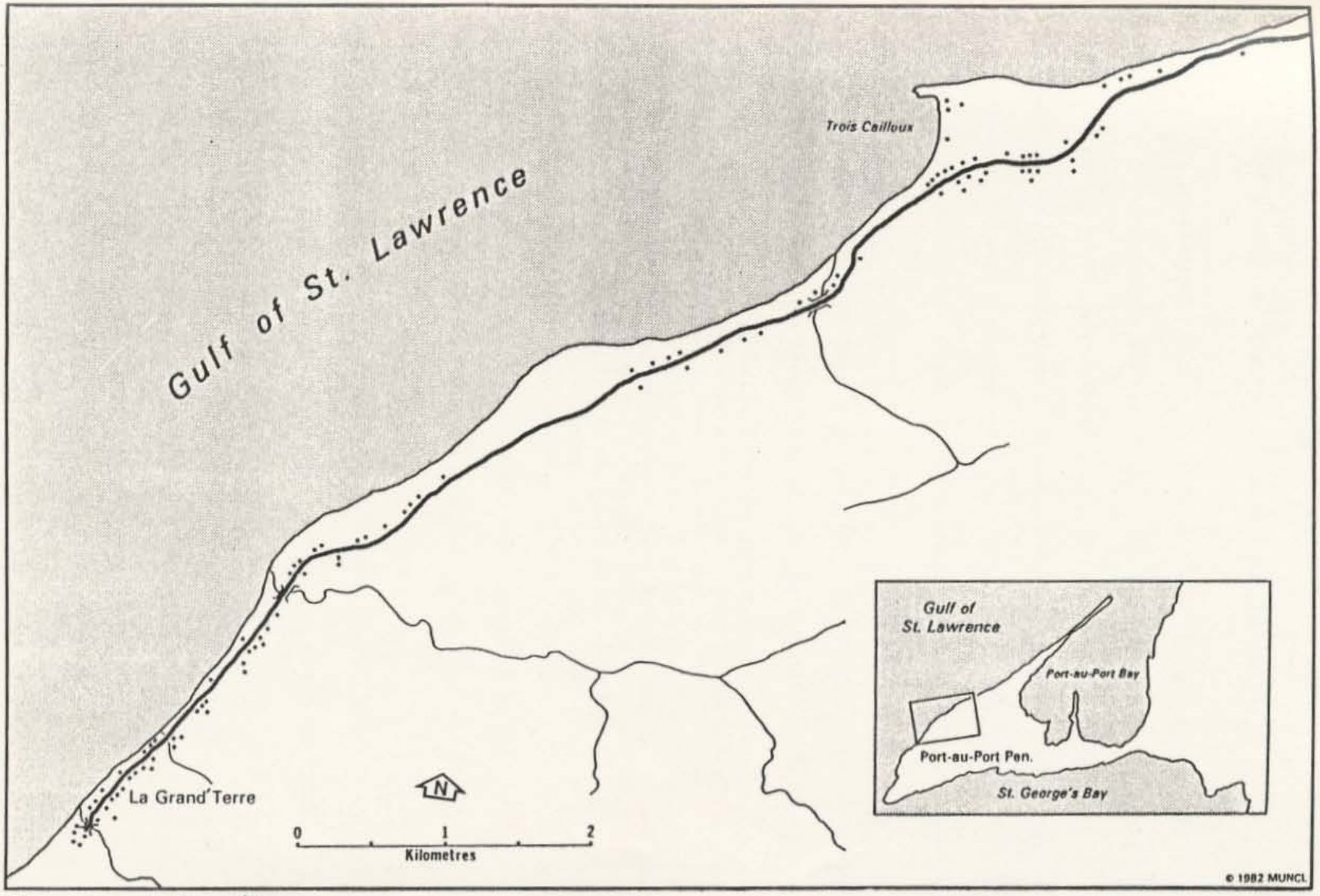

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1.1 A brief history of the French in western Newfoundland

The present-day French minority who live in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area of western Newfoundland are descended from two groups of French settlers, Metropolitan French from Normandy and Brittany and Acadian French from Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia. This area of western Newfoundland formed part of the so-called "French Shore" where, from 1713 until 1904, English settlement was at least nominally forbidden and the French enjoyed fishing rights.

It is known that many Acadians from Cape Breton Island settled in Bay St. George in the area which is now the town of Stephenville:

> In 1844 the first Acadian French arrived with their families in fishing boats from Margaree in Cape Breton Island and located at what is now Stephenville on the north shore of St. Georges Bay. More followed and the settlement grew. Subsequently, some moved west to Port-au-Port, some moved to Sandy Point and St. Georges. In 1848 there were 750 inhabitants around Bay St. George, and, as an important herring fishery developed, the number of settlers increased. (Wonders 1951:139)

Other inhabitants of the Bay St. George area were Micmac Indians who had migrated from Nova Scotia from as early as the late 1700s (Pastore 1978:20).

During the 19th century, French fishing boats setting out from ports such as Granville, St. Malo and La Rochelle anchored off the coast in summer, coming ashore only to dry and salt their catch (Gobineau 1861). Due to harsh living and working conditions aboard these boats, many conscripted French workers, called graviers, deserted and settled illegally in the Port-au-Port Peninsula area at Ile Rouge (later moving to La Grand'Terre), L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver (two

small communities approximately one kilometer apart) and Cap St.-Georges.[1] Figure 1 is a general map of the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area; individual community maps are given in Figures 2-5.

One geographer reports on the settlement of Cap St.-Georges and La Grand'Terre:

> La Grand'Terre et Cap-Saint-Georges durent leur premier peuplement aux 'graviers' qui désertaient les morutiers. Le premier déserteur fixé au Cap, un certain Guillaume Robin, natif de la Roche-Derrien, en Bretagne, y serait arrivé vers 1837. Le long du XIX^{e} siècle, ce fut un petit courant de désertation sévissant parmi les pages morutiers qui peupla peu-à-peu Cap-Saint-Georges. Le dernier serait un dénommé Yves Lemoine qui déserta vers 1895. (Biays 1952:15)

It should be noted that French from France settled primarily on the Port-au-Port Peninsula whereas Acadian settlers were predominant in the Stephenville/St. Georges area.

It is known that many of these early Metropolitan French settlers were bilingual in French and Breton. E. R. Seary reports in Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland (1972) that the west coast surnames Lagatdu, Bozec, Kerrotret and Cornect (<Cornec) are of Breton origin. However, according to older residents of L'Anse-à-Canards and La Grand'Terre, settlers named LaCour, Secardin, Baloche, LeRoy and LeTacconnoux (of L'Anse-à-Canards) and Rivolan (of La Grand'Terre) also spoke Breton. Breton as a spoken language would appear to have died out with this first generation of settlers.[2]

There was intermarriage between Micmacs and French settlers although few present-day inhabitants trace direct Micmac descent. The Micmac language is no longer spoken in western Newfoundland. It survives in only a few lexical items, in particular names of flora and

fauna, such as machecoui (birch bark), cacaoui (old squaw duck), and caribou.[3]

The most important language contact would appear to have been between regional varieties of Metropolitan French and Nova Scotia Acadian. This point will be discussed in section 1.3 below.

During the latter part of the 19th century and indeed until the outbreak of the Second World War, the Port-au-Port Peninsula/St. Georges Bay area was quite isolated.[4] There were neither telephones nor roads. Transportation was mainly by boat. Since 1904 and the end of the "French Shore", English Newfoundlanders had settled in the area but had not infiltrated to any great degree the French communities of Stephenville, L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, La Grand'Terre or Cap St.-Georges.

During the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the twentieth century, small schools were established in these communities. The great majority of the teachers were unilingual English speakers. The language of instruction was always English. Many informants, both young and old, remember being forbidden to speak French, even though they knew no English when they started school. It is not difficult to understand, then, why few French Newfoundlanders completed high school.

At the beginning of World War II, the United States Air Force established an airbase at Harmon Field on the outskirts of Stephenville. The population of Stephenville numbered less than 1000 at the time, the majority of whom were French.[5] This was rich agricultural land farmed by the Acadian French and their descendants. The majority of

Stephenville informants interviewed for the present study had been forced to sell their land to the Government of Newfoundland who in turn sold it to the Americans so that they might build the airbase. Many of the Stephenville French subsequently moved to Stephenville Crossing or to Kippens.

The population of Stephenville increased greatly during the war as people from all parts of Newfoundland moved there in search of work at the airbase and in related industries. Many of the local French worked there as well, including several of the informants for this study. They learned English in order to get jobs. The French of the Stephenville area, especially, had more and more contact with English. Radio and later television carried only English programming. Intermarriage with English Newfoundlanders increased. It was, and normally still is, the case that children of a French father and English mother learn only English. Thus the number of Francophones in the area declined steadily to the point that at the time fieldwork for the present study was carried out during the summer of 1980, it was impossible to find any residents of Stephenville under the age of fifty who could speak French.

On the more isolated Port-au-Port Peninsula, however, assimilation to English proceeded at a much slower rate. Even today, L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver and La Grand'Terre may be reached only by gravel roads from Lourdes. Here, as well, there was and still is intermarriage between French and English, but in the three French communities of the Port-au-Port Peninsula, French has survived, at least within the over twenty-five age group.[6]

From the 1940s until the early 1970s, French enjoyed very low

prestige in the eyes of both the English and French inhabitants of the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area. All forms of employment, with the exception of fishing and farming, required a knowledge of English. In Stephenville especially, farming declined since the fertile land where Harmon Field is located had been lost. All schooling in the area was in English. Doctors, priests and teachers were, with few exceptions, English. Most of the older informants for the present study encouraged their children to learn English. Some stopped speaking French in the home, feeling that speaking French would only be a burden to their children. Even today, many French Newfoundlanders are very shy about speaking French to outsiders.

However, in 1971, with the national emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism, the federal government declared the Port-au-Port/Bay St. George area a bilingual federal district. The area now receives French television programming from Montréal. Francophone associations now exist in the three French communities of the Port-au-Port Peninsula and in Stephenville. French "immersion" programs exist in the schools of Cap St.-Georges. French would appear to be enjoying a greater prestige than it has since the time of the original settlers.

1.2 Newfoundland French: a review of the literature

Surprisingly little has been written about the variety[7] of French spoken in western Newfoundland. The first published attempt at describing Newfoundland French is an article by John Stoker published in 1964 entitled "Spoken French in Newfoundland". Stoker gives examples of a very few lexical items, their pronunciations (rendered in Standard

French orthography) and some examples of regularized morphology. All of the data are given as Newfoundland French in general and no account is taken of probable variation, which leads the author to make some unfounded generalizations.

For example, Stoker gives les flakes as an example of an anglicism; however le vigneau is a very common word in Newfoundland French. He writes tchevaire as the Newfoundland French word for 'spoon' without commenting on the striking difference in pronunciation from Standard French cuiller.[8] However, the most often recorded pronunciations of cuiller are [ʧɥijɛr] and [ʧijɛr], with regular palatalization of /k/ before a front vowel. This feature of Acadian French will be discussed in 1.3.

In his discussion of the morphology of the Newfoundland French verb, Stoker notices the regularization of plural endings (e.g. faire--1st person [fezõ], 2nd person [feze], 3rd person [fezõ]) but contrasts nous faisons with ils faisons (Stoker's orthography). It would be very surprising if nous were widely used as a subject clitic in 1964, since the 1980 corpus upon which this thesis is based records the use of je as both singular and plural first person subject clitic to be very nearly categorical. This usage has also been attested as a regional variant in France since the end of the 15th century (Nyrop 1925:81-82).

Stoker's article is based, then, on what appears to be a very limited amount of data, some of dubious validity, from which he draws some erroneous conclusions. For example, he notes that "[the] erasing of all irregularities has removed the subjunctive from the spoken language, except in the case of a very few self-educated people" (Stoker

1964:357). Although use of the subjunctive was not quantified in this thesis, the 1980 corpus contains many examples of subjunctive usage, which would appear to be constrained both linguistically and extra-linguistically. Stoker's conclusions are as follows:

> This Newfoundland French is in the process of dying out and soon it will have disappeared. As it is a spoken language only, with practically nothing ever written down, it will disappear all the more completely with the death of successive generations of older people, till we come to the high school students of today, who have already lost the habit of speaking French. It is too late to try to do anything to arrest this process, as so many different factors act against its continuance as a separate language. It has produced no culture, either native to Newfoundland or handed down, and there seems to be little or no trace of folksongs or folk-tales, arts or crafts. (Stoker 1964:358)

This bleak generalization for the future of Newfoundland French has proven to be at the very least premature and does not take into consideration the fact that language death is a much slower and more complicated process than Stoker perceives it to be.

Four Memorial University of Newfoundland theses (three M.A. and one Ph.D.), two B.A. (Honours) dissertations and several articles have appeared within the past ten years which deal directly or indirectly with Newfoundland French. A Ph.D. thesis in Folklore by Gerald Thomas, entitled "Stories, Storytelling and Storytellers in Newfoundland's French Tradition: A Study in the Narrative Art of Four French Newfoundlanders", contains a chapter on language, of which a very slightly revised version has been published in Paddock (1977).

Thomas' twenty-odd page description of "the phonology, morphology and lexicon" of Newfoundland French is intended as "a convenience designed to facilitate the task of the reader accustomed to

literary French" (Thomas 1977a:36). Although important as the first attempt to provide a fairly comprehensive description (note, however, that syntax is omitted) of the language variety, it is marred by numerous inaccuracies and often dubious linguistic interpretations of the data.

For example, Thomas notes that "the vowels of Newfoundland French are the same as those of Standard French but have, in addition, two extra vowels" (Thomas 1977a:45). He says he has not been able "to determine if these variants are true phonemes, or merely, as [he suspects], allophones of /i/ and /u/" (Thomas 1977a:45). However, a very well-known feature of North American French in general is the realization of lax variants of the high vowels in closed syllables (see for example Gendron 1966:13ff). Like other varieties of North American French, Newfoundland French has these lax variants of /i/, /u/ and /y/.

Thomas correctly notes the lengthening and diphthongization of [ɛ]: "in some contexts . . . it occurs in such words as standard bête /bɛt/, 'animal'" (Thomas 1977a:46). But immediately following he states, "Phonemically it can be indicated in Newfoundland French as /bejt/" (Thomas 1977a:46). This is an obvious confusion of phonetics and phonology, since Thomas gives no evidence for the attribution of a phonemic status to long [ɛ]. Lengthening and diphthongization of mid vowels in certain environments is a common phonetic feature of North American French.[9]

Some examples of generalizations based on insufficient data follow. In his discussion of verb morphology, Thomas notes: "As opposed to the Standard plural, nous "we", Newfoundland French uses the singular pronoun with the plural form of the verb, and the addition

of nous-autes: Ah, j'contions des contes, nous-autes!" (Thomas 1977a:55). However, [nuzot] is added to the first person plural only for emphasis; by far the most common form in Newfoundland French, as in varieties of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Acadian, is [ɔz kotjõ] "we told".[10]

Again discussing the verb in Newfoundland French, Thomas notes: "These verb patterns have produced in Newfoundland French a third person plural form of avoir, avont.[11] It has spread to all verbs, thus standard ils vont, Newfoundland il allont." (Thomas 1977a:55). However, data from King 1978 and 1980 reveal that in relative clauses third person plural is not usually marked for number. The verb ending is the same as in the third person singular:

e.g. [vwala le fi ki dõs] "There are the girls who are dancing."

[le fi dõsõ] "The girls are dancing."

A final example will be drawn from Thomas' discussion of clitic pronouns:

> Standard lui is rarely used, the Newfoundland form being y /i/: j'y as dit 'I told him'. The plural leur, 'to them' is almost never used but in its place Newfoundland French has à ieusses or à ièlles: j'as donné ça à ieusses 'I gave it to them'. (Thomas 1977a: 55-6)

Elles [jɛl], however, is attested in neither the King 1978 nor 1980 data and is not to be expected given the neutralization of gender in the plural forms of Acadian.[12] Here it would appear that eux [jø] is the third person plural strong pronoun, unmarked for gender. Secondly and most importantly, it is the hypothesis of the present thesis that both the surface realization of clitics and cliticization itself are subject to a great deal of socially and linguistically

conditioned variation in Newfoundland French. Some of the attested variants of the third person singular object clitic (dative) are lui [lui], phonologically reduced [i], and le [lə] (unmarked for case). Likewise there are a number of variants of the third person plural object clitic (dative), including leur [lœr], phonologically reduced [jø], and les [le] (unmarked for case). As will be seen, both linguistic and extralinguistic variables condition the realization of these clitics.

In conclusion, Thomas' description confuses phonetics and American structural phonology and makes generalizations based on limited and insufficient data. It is done without reference to any other variety of French, either synchronic or diachronic. That Thomas' work is not in any way comparative should not perhaps be criticized too harshly, if Thomas' description is to be used only as a tool to facilitate reading of Newfoundland French transcripts.

Herbert Kelvin Darby's M.A. thesis "A Survey of the Lexicon of Fishing, Farming and Carpentry in the French Community of Cape St. George" (1978) is said by the author to be of primary interest to folklorists:

> It should be emphasized that this survey of the lexicon of Newfoundland French is exploratory, and while it should be of interest to linguists and lexicographers, it is not intended to be a linguistic study. No critical or comparative analysis of the material has been made; the lexicon is intended to serve the needs of students of the traditional French culture and folklore of Newfoundland. (Darby 1978:1)

Darby's introductory remarks on the pronunciation of Newfoundland French are for the most part a summary of Thomas (1977a). There are, moreover, further linguistically unsound interpretations of data, such as the following:

> A further tendency was noted in all speakers to pronounce unstressed e in the prefixes é and dé, somewhere between /ə/ and /ɛ/. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, of these symbols is used to indicate this sound. The intermediate sound was sometimes noted in stressed syllables, e.g. bouète [bwɛt ~ bwət]. (Darby 1978:14)

First of all, the realization of schwa (as in [bwət]) is unattested in King 1978 and 1980 for Newfoundland French, nor is it attested by Lucci (1972) or Massignon (1962) for Maritime Acadian. Attested variants in Newfoundland French is [bwɛt] with varying degrees of lengthening and diphthongization. While schwa-like realizations of /ɛ/ are not phonetically implausible, they have not, in the knowledge of the present author, been mentioned in the literature on Acadian. Darby's [bwət] is therefore surprising. Secondly, if Darby has recorded only one sound in the abovementioned prefixes, that is, if pronunciation is not variable, it should be represented throughout the thesis by one phonetic symbol. Thirdly, the pronunciation of the /wa/ diphthong in Newfoundland French should not be confused with pronunciations of the /e/ of the prefixes é and dé. The pronunciation of orthographic -oi- as [wɛ], standard to the French of pre-Revolution Île-de-France, is a conservative feature of Newfoundland French, whereas variable pronunciation of é and dé might well be innovative.

Confusions such as the above detract from the thesis. Although Darby's lexicon is fairly extensive (723 items), it is based on a limited stay in Cap St.-Georges and upon a limited sample (9½ hours of tape-recorded interviews with three male informants). Lexical entries such as souère (S.F. soir) and tâbe (S.F. table) appear to have nothing to do with the lexical area being studied but seem to have been included

because of their non-standard pronunciation in Newfoundland French.

Darby's thesis is not a study of the lexicon per se since no analysis of the data is attempted nor are any conclusions drawn. It is more a listing of terminology related to fishing, farming and carpentry which is used in Cap St.-Georges.

Elizabeth Sellars' B.A. (Honours) dissertation (1976) is a quantitative study of anglicisms in the speech of one female French Newfoundlander. She concludes that anglicisms made up no more than 1% of the speech sample studied. Later studies of anglicisms (Thomas 1977: 61 and King 1980) have reached similar conclusions. However, these results are also based on limited study. Thomas (1977) studies a thirty-minute sample of the same speaker whose speech Sellars investigated. King (1980) is a preliminary study of the speech of sixteen speakers from the three Francophone communities of the Port-au-Port Peninsula. Anglicization has not been studied for Stephenville speakers. King (1980) determined that the social variables age and sex appear to condition the use of anglicisms.

Sellars' 1978 M.A. thesis, a study of the role of women in a French Newfoundland community, includes as an appendix a lexicon of some 250 items relating to the traditional work of women. The items are transcribed in what one assumes to be broad phonetic transcription. Their Standard French glosses are given. However, there is no discussion of the linguistic structure of Newfoundland French, nor is the lexicon cross-referenced with sources for other varieties of French.

In 1977, Geraldine Barter's B.A. (Honours) dissertation, "A Critically Annotated Bibliography of Works Published and Unpublished

Relating to the Culture of French Newfoundlanders", was published by Memorial University of Newfoundland. However, with the exception of the pre-1977 abovementioned works, the only linguistic entries are nine unpublished student papers (bibliography numbers 11, 12, 14, 29, 66, 84, 112, 114, 116) by undergraduate and graduate students with little training in linguistics. Copies of the abovementioned theses, articles and papers are housed in the Centre d'Etudes Franco-terreneuviennes, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

King (1978) is an M.A. thesis which attempts to describe the phonology and morphology of the French spoken in L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver. Based on interviews with less than a dozen informants, this thesis is marred by its lack of treatment of intracommunity variation. King (1981) is an investigation of structural hypercorrection based on part of the corpus of the present thesis.

It would seem obvious, then, that there has been no good linguistic description of Newfoundland French. Past linguistic research has been hampered by either lack of linguistic training on the part of the investigators or insufficient knowledge of the language variety or both.

1.3 Newfoundland French as a variety of Acadian

It has been seen that very little work of a comparative nature has been done on Newfoundland French. Stoker (1964) does try to relate some of his lexical examples to other varieties of French, but does not classify Newfoundland French as being distinctly North American or, in particular, Acadian.

Thomas (1977) and Darby (1978) do not consider Newfoundland French in relation to other varieties of French at all; in fact Thomas in particular comments on the "unique" quality of Newfoundland French:

> [Its] particular character has grown out of a unique amalgamation of imported forms; it has been coloured by its physical environment and it has been influenced by English. [He does] not claim that the characteristics of Newfoundland French are not found in other dialects, but [he thinks] their combination in Newfoundland is unique. (Thomas 1977:36-7)

Darby (1978) suggests that future investigators might like to make "a comparison of the Cape St. George dialect with other French Canadian dialects, to establish its degree of uniqueness." (Darby 1978:97)

It does not necessarily follow, however, that if Variety A does not share identical realizations of linguistic features X, Y and Z with Variety B or with Variety C that Variety A is unique. It is obvious that Newfoundland French is recognizably a variety of North American French. Furthermore, given the many features shared by Newfoundland French and varieties of Acadian, it is argued here that Newfoundland French should be classified as a variety of Acadian.

While neither a detailed description of North American French in general nor of Newfoundland French in particular is intended here, several major phonological features of North American French will be discussed briefly.[13]

Some features are more typical of Acadian than Québécois, such as palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels. Some are more typical of rural North American Francophones and/or informal speech styles, such as the [we] pronunciation of orthographic -oi-. All features, with the exception of assibilation of /t/ and /d/ (see Feature 2 below), are

variable features of Newfoundland French.[14]

Vowel Features:

1. As mentioned above, in Newfoundland French, as in other varieties of North American French, there is a strong tendency towards the laxing of high vowels in closed syllables, as in farine [farIn], coupe [kUp], and jupe [ʒʏp].

2. Whereas Metropolitan French has lost the low vowel distinction /a/-/ɑ/, it has been retained in North American French (e.g. pâte /pɑt/ vs. patte /pat/).

3. There is also a tendency in North American French towards the opening and backing of /ɛ/ before /r/ in the environment before a consonant (ɛ+ /_rC), as in perdu [pɑrdy], as well as towards lengthening and diphthongization of mid front and mid back vowels before /r/. It would appear, however, that diphthongization is more common in Québécois than in Acadian or in Newfoundland French. Lengthening is common to all varieties of North American French.

4. In North American French, non-high vowels tend to lengthen and diphthonize in certain environments (e.g. tête [tɛ·t] and gaule [gɔol] are attested for Newfoundland French).

5. The pronunciation of orthographic -oi- as [we] has been maintained in Québécois (see Juneau 1972:59-64). However, in Newfoundland French it is maintained only in closed syllables (e.g. boîte [bwet] while [wa] is heard in open syllables (e.g. moi [mwɑ]). In Acadian, [we] is maintained in closed syllables (see Lucci 1972:39), but [we] would appear to vary with [wa] in open syllables (see Massignon 1962:M949, M1533).[15]

6. Ouisme, or the realization of [u] where Standard French has [o] or

[ɔ], in items such as chose [ʃuz] and connaître [kunɛt] is a common feature of Acadian.[16] It has been attested for Stephenville/Kippens in the 1980 Newfoundland French data. This is understandable since Acadians, as opposed to Metropolitan French, settled in this area.

7. Finally, the nasal vowels of Newfoundland French resemble more closely those of Acadian than those of Québécois. Lucci (1972:64-69) reports distinctive /ɛ̃/, /ɔ̃/, and /ɑ̃/, with fronted variants of /ɑ̃/ attested in closed syllables. King (1978:17) notes a similar three way distinction; however, there is no fronting of /ɑ̃/. There appears to be a slight closing of the mid nasal vowels in certain environments. However, neither variety seems to have the extreme closing of /ɛ̃/ or fronting of /ɑ̃/ noted by Gendron for Québécois (see Gendron 1966:98-109).

Consonant Features:

1. [h] appears in such lexical items as haut, hache, haler and humide in Newfoundland French. It is also maintained in Québécois and Acadian.

2. Whereas assibilation of /t/ and /d/ before front vowels is a common feature of Québécois and appears to be an innovation in Acadian as younger speakers conform to a Québécois prestige model, assibilation of /t/ and /d/ is unattested for Newfoundland French. In Newfoundland French, /k/ and /g/ palatalize regularly to [tʃ] and [dʒ] in the same environments. Lucci notes that only older, rural Acadian speakers maintain this palatalization.

3. ʃ and ʒ santongeais survive as variants of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in Acadian and in Newfoundland French. In Newfoundland French pronunciations such as argent [ɑrɣɑ̃] and jamais [hame] are attested. Interestingly, these

pronunciations appear to be common in only certain extended families. However, the phenomenon has not been investigated in detail. Lucci (1972) notes a voiceless velar fricative in items such as engager [ãgaxe]. (See King 1978:28-29 and Lucci 1972:95.) ʃ and ʒ saintongeais would appear not to be widespread in Québécois. (See Chidaine 1967:151 and Juneau 1972:139-140.) Charbonneau (1957), however, has noted this feature in the French of the outskirts of Québec, in Gaspésie, Beauce, Baie de Chaleurs and Port-neuf.

The above description is not exhaustive, but does outline briefly many of the major phonological features which are distinctly North American. This is not to say, however, that these features are not to be found in France; given the historical antecedents of North American French, it is not surprising that several authors note that they may be found regionally in France. These features, however, would appear to be more widespread in North America.

To recapitulate, the following features are common to North American French in general: the laxing of high vowels in closed syllables, preservation of the low vowel distinction /a/-/ɑ/, opening and backing of /ɛ/ before /r/ in the environment before a consonant, lengthening and diphthongization of non-high vowels, pronunciation of orthographic -oi- as [we], and maintenance of [h] in certain lexical items. All of these features occur in Newfoundland French. Newfoundland French does not have, however, the extreme closing of /ɛ̃/ and fronting of /ɑ̃/, nor the assibilation of /t/ and /d/ which one finds in Québécois. Along with the general North American French features mentioned above, the Newfoundland variety does have ʃ and ʒ saintongeais, ouisme, and

palatalization of /k/ and /g/, features also found in Maritime Acadian.

In 1.1 it was suggested that the most important language contact for the development of Newfoundland French was between regional varieties of Metropolitan French and Cape Breton Island Acadian. Only a historical study would tell which of the abovementioned features were distinct Acadian influences upon what came to be the Newfoundland French variety, which were distinctly regional Metropolitan and which existed in both varieties. However, a synchronic study of varieties of North American French, while acknowledging that no two language varieties will be identical, would conclude that Newfoundland French shares many common features with other North American French varieties and resembles most closely varieties of Acadian.

1.4 Aims of the present study

The general aim of the present study is the systematic investigation of variation in clitic pronoun usage in the variety of French spoken in western Newfoundland. Since so little research has been conducted in the area, it was decided that the study should be based on a large amount of data for a sufficiently large sample of the population. A large corpus of free conversation was considered particularly desirable. It was decided that if generalizations were to be made about Newfoundland French, the speech of all four Francophone communities should be investigated.

The orientation of this study is sociolinguistic. Covariation is quantified for a number of phonological and grammatical variables with both linguistic environments and the subject variables age, sex,

and stylistic level. Techniques developed for a single speech community are, however, implemented in four geographically disparate (but related) communities. The combination of elements of the dialect geographer's approach with the methodology current in sociolinguistics allows testing of the intracommunity variables mentioned above against the intercommunity factor of locality. Thus it is possible to determine which of these variables seems most important in accounting for variation in Newfoundland French.

As will be seen in 2.4, the rural Newfoundland setting, as opposed to the urban setting of most variability studies, has necessitated modification of the basically Labovian methodology. For example, the social stratification of the communities proved too subtle to be investigated as a subject variable at this time.

The emphasis in this first study of variation in Newfoundland French is more on description than on theoretical aspects of variation. The Newfoundland French results are compared wherever possible to those obtained in other sociolinguistic studies. Although some attempt is made to relate Newfoundland French clitic usage to the literature on cliticization in generative grammar, this is not a major goal of the study.

Notes

1. At least ten of the older Port-au-Port Peninsula informants believe either their father or grandfather to have been a deserter.

2. Two older informants, one a descendant of the settler Dubé and the other the son of LeRoy, recalled isolated Breton vocabulary items. Several informants, including one thirty-year-old resident of L'Anse-à-Canards, mentioned hearing as children older people speak Breton.

3. Machecoui and caribou must have been brought from Mainland Canada since they are also found in Maritime Acadian (Poirier 1928:290). They were not borrowed in Newfoundland.

4. Little has been written about the recent history of the French in western Newfoundland. Most written documentation is based on material collected from oral sources during the last ten to fifteen years by students and folklorists and is housed in the Centre d'Etudes Franco-terreneuviennes, Memorial University of Newfoundland. The historical summary here is based on the author's conversations with informants and noninformants over a five year period.

5. In the federal publication Newfoundland: An Introduction to Canada's New Province (Ottawa 1950) a list of Newfoundland settlements with populations of 1000 or over in 1901, 1921, and/or 1945 does not include Stephenville. Official pre-1949 census figures are unavailable for Stephenville. Stoker (1964) reports, however:

> [Stephenville's] population was 11,124 in 1961; 8,400 in 1960; before 1940 it was only 1300 consisting of 165

> families, and was a 95% French-speaking community whilst in 1900, the population was just about 200. These figures were given by A. V. Galant, a nephew of Stephen Galant, the first child born there, in 1846, after whom the town of Stephenville is named. (Stoker 1964:351-2)

N.B. Stoker's Galant is spelt Gallant by Stephenville residents.

6. See Appendix I for Statistics Canada figures for mother tongue for censuses of the last thirty years.

7. In this thesis, the word variety is used to replace dialect since the standard definition of the latter as a collection of homogeneous idiolects, geographically determined according to the bundling of isoglosses, is considered inappropriate to the variationist model within which this thesis is written. Secondly, the term dialect is rejected as confusing, since one encounters in the literature regional dialects, social dialects, transitional dialects, etc. Variety is used here to refer to the speech of a heterogeneous speech community.

8. Cuiller [tʃəvɛr] has been attested by this author for Cap St.-Georges. When questioned about this variant pronunciation, several L'Anse-à-Canards residents did not know the meaning of the word. It may be that [tʃəvɛr] is an isolated lexical variant. A phonetic explanation is not apparent.

9. See Gendron (1966) for discussion of lengthening and diphthongization of mid vowels in Canadian French.

10. See for example Gesner (1979).

11. Thomas offers no explanation for the choice of -t- in his writing

system for Newfoundland French. The -t- would indicate an analogical formation based on the third person plural ending /õ/ in common verbs such as faire--S.F. ils font; aller--S.F. ils vont. However, it would appear just as possible that analogy is made with regular first person plural ending /õ/, in which case Stoker's orthographic ils faisons would be justified.

N.B. The -s- of ils is not pronounced in any of the tokens of the 1980 corpus of Newfoundland French.

12. What appears to be a phonetic yod appears at the initial of the following words in Newfoundland French: un (number), eux (with Acadian pronunciation of the final consonant), elle (strong pronoun) and eu. Lucci (1972:34) has noted the same phenomenon in New Brunswick.

13. For the sake of brevity, only phonological features will be mentioned here. Several references in the bibliography of this thesis, however, contain information on the grammatical features of North American French.

14. Gendron (1966), Juneau (1972), Léon (1967) and Charboneau (1958) are the principal references used here for Québécois; Massignon (1962) and Lucci (1972) are the references for Acadian. Most of these features have been discussed in King (1978). Lucci (1972) describes the French of the Moncton area in particular. His Phonologie de l'Acadien is at times of dubious validity and interpretation. For example, Lucci attributes a trisyllabic pronunciation of radio [radio] to "la difficulté de prononcer un [j] dans un certain contexte, qui se manifeste

par une réaction excessive d'aperture et une syllabation, par contre coup, différente" (Lucci 1972:36). It would seem apparent that the tri-syllabic pronunciation is an anglicism.

A more reliable source is often Massignon (1962), an extensive lexicon which records pronunciations of lexical items for several Maritime communities.

For further discussion of these features, see the following: For Vowel Feature 1, see Gendron 1966:18-25 for Québécois; Lucci 1972:25-6 for Acadian; and King 1978:9-21 for Newfoundland French.

For Vowel Feature 2, see Gendron 1966:77-79; Lucci 1972:63-4; and King 1978:21.

For Vowel Feature 3, see Lucci 1972:39; King 1978:26-7; and Juneau 1972: 39-66.

For Vowel Feature 4, see Gendron 1966:77-79; and King 1978:21.

For Vowel Feature 6, see Massignon 1962:M1559, M1756, etc., and Lucci 1972:41. Juneau (1972) notes that this phenomenon exists variably in Québécois but is not widespread.

For Consonant Feature 1, see Lucci 1972:109-110; King 1978:27-28 and Léon 1967:125-142.

For Consonant Feature 2, see Gendron 1966:120-125; Lucci 1972:96-100, and King 1978:28-31.

15. There are conflicting reports in the literature as to the pronunciation of -oi- in Acadian. Poirier (1928) notes the same distribution as in Newfoundland French:

> J'en retrouve trois [pronunciations of -oi-], bien distincts, en Acadie: un è ouvert dans beète, coèfe, parouèce, armouère, tirouère, pour boîte, coiffe, paroisse, armoire, tiroir: un é fermé dans frét, réde, pour froid, roide; et wa, dans mwa, twa, rwa, pour moi, toi, roi. (Poirier 1928:170)

16. The literature on Acadian and Québécois is at times confusing since Québécois is often used to refer to the French spoken within the boundaries of the province of Québec. However, within the province (in Gaspésie and Beauce, for example) one finds linguistically Acadian pockets.

CHAPTER II

LINGUISTIC MODELS AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Early treatments of variation

Until fairly recently, the study of linguistic variation had been largely ignored by the mainstream of linguistics. From the 1930s until its decline in the 1960s, the American structuralist tradition stressed the study of the homogeneous idiolect and dismissed any lack of homogeneity in an idiolect or between idiolects as "free variation". One of Bloch's 1948 postulates for phonemic analysis states:

> Phonological analysis of a given idiolect does not reveal the phonological system of any idiolect belonging to a different dialect. This, of course, is why the investigator finds it wise, in the early stages of his work with a new language, to concentrate on a single informant. The introduction of a second informant, before the phonological system of the first one's idiolect is known at least in part, is always a possible source of confusion. (Bloch 1948:9)

While the Chomskyan revolution produced a much more powerful theory of language than did the previous empiricist tradition,[1] generativists regard linguistic diversity as being theoretically irrelevant:

> Linguistic theory is concerned with the idea of the ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows his language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. (Chomsky 1965:3-4)

Generative dialectology, later advanced by King (1969) and Newton (1972), among others, explains geographical variation as differences in the low-level phonological rules of particular dialects, differences in the linguistic environments in which these rules apply, and differences in the order in which they apply. However, these are

categorical rules which incorporate only linguistic conditioning of variation.

Variation, then, was left until the mid-1960s to dialect geography, a field which in general does not make theoretical claims but concentrates upon the collection of large corpuses of data from the rural sector.[2] According to Labov, "In the 20th century, dialectology as a discipline seems to have lost any orientation towards theoretical linguistics, and dialect geographers have generally been content to collect their materials and publish them" (Labov 1972:268). Although dealing directly with linguistic variation, dialect geography does, however, deal with such variation within a framework of social homogeneity. Rona points out the successive steps in the typical study of variation by dialect geographers:

> First, delimitation of a sufficiently homogeneous set of idiolects; second, its description; third, its comparison with other sets similarly delimited and defined. (Rona 1976:8)

Therefore, the concept of the heterogeneous speech community is largely ignored by both the structuralist and generative theories and by the dialect geography tradition.

2.2 Early sociolinguistics

In the early 1960s, the study of language in its social context came into vogue. Such studies as Brown and Gilman's "The pronouns of power and solidarity" (1960), which discusses the social implications of pronoun usage in several European countries, and Dell Hymes' "The ethnography of speaking" (1962), which deals with the social uses of linguistic styles and with the role of speech in socialization, are early

proponents of a shift in emphasis in the study of variation.

Both Labov's early study of Martha's Vineyard (1963) and his landmark 1966 study of New York City English established a rigorous methodology for sociolinguistic research and made several important theoretical claims about language. The 1966 study quantifies co-variation of several phonological variables ((r), (eh), (oh), (th) and (dh)) with speakers' age, ethnic identity, social class, contextual style, etc. What would earlier have been termed "free variation" in the unstable idiolect is now seen in some cases as socially distinct variants of a phonological variable, in others as evidence of a linguistic change in progress and/or the result of interaction of linguistic variables. Labov claims that linguistic change may be studied synchronically if one systematically investigates age as a sociolinguistic variable. Perceived differences in the distribution of linguistic features according to age reflect language change in progress. Thus sociolinguistics allows both the synchronic study of linguistic variables (with their linguistic and social conditioning) and the diachronic study of linguistic change.

Later community studies in the Labovian vein include Wolfram's studies of Detroit Black English (1969) and of New York City Puerto Rican English (1974), Fasold's study of Washington, D.C. Black English (1972) and Trudgill's study of Norwich English (1974). The Labovian methodology of data gathering and data analysis will be outlined briefly below.

In dialect geography, the emphasis is on the correlation of linguistic features with settlement and immigration patterns, while in sociolinguistics there is more concern with variation internal to the

community. And whereas dialect geography has traditionally studied the speech of a very few non-mobile, older, rural informants per community (referred to by Chambers and Trudgill (1980) as NORMS), sociolinguistics has concentrated on the study of large, randomly or quasi-randomly chosen samples of urban populations. Therefore, any observations made by the sociolinguist are likely to be more representative of the population as a whole.

As for data elicitation itself, Labov sees as the major problem the Observer's Paradox: "The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation" (Labov 1972:209). In dialect research, data are traditionally elicited by having the informant name a lexical item upon hearing its definition. However, this sort of structural elicitation elicits only a formal, self-conscious speech style. Labovian elicitation techniques are designed to tap as many stylistic levels as possible, from extremely formal through to casual speech, as well as to make the informant feel as comfortable and unselfconscious as possible within the interview situation. Of major importance is the elicitation of free conversation.

Informal through to most formal levels of speech might be expected to occur in (a) casual speech outside the context of the interview itself, (b) free conversation elicited through direct questioning on subjects of interest to the informant, (c) structurally-elicited data, (d) reading passages, (e) word lists, (f) minimal pair word lists, (g) direct questioning about the informant's own speech and the speech

of others. (c), (d), (e) and (f) would be designed to include words containing the phonological variables under investigation. (c) may be adapted to elicit grammatical variables. Wolfram and Fasold note that (g) often leads to what Labov calls "subordinate shift", in which "speakers of a subordinate dialect will shift in an irregular way toward the superordinate dialect when asked direct questions about their language" (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:57).

The structure of the questionnaire thus allows correlation of linguistic variables with speech style. The presentation of sections is ordered so as to put the informant at ease. Free conversation would typically come late in the interview since the informant would be less nervous than at the beginning. Direct questioning would be used only in the final section of the interview.[3]

In Labovian methodology, quantification of the elicited data consists of either (a) calculation for each cell of the percentage of all elicited forms for each value of a given linguistic variable or (b) calculation for each cell of a particular variable index score. For example, if pronunciations [ɛ], [ɛ:] and [ɛj] of the variable (e) are elicited for a variety of French, each might be treated as a value of (e). They might be ranked, in descending order of prestige, as follows:

[ɛ]

[ɛ:]

[ɛj]

and given values [ɛ]-1 [ɛ:]-2 and [ɛj]-3. The index score for each cell would then be calculated. The percentage of each variable value or index score would be calculated for each contextual style. This, then,

is a simplified example of the method of calculating phonological indices developed by Labov (1966).

In much the same way, social indices may be calculated so that correlation with linguistic indices might be effected. For a description of the setting up of a social class index, see Chapter V of Trudgill (1974).

Covariation of linguistic with subject variables for this hypothetical example might then be plotted on a graph such as the one given below. This display is typical of studies done in the early Labovian framework.

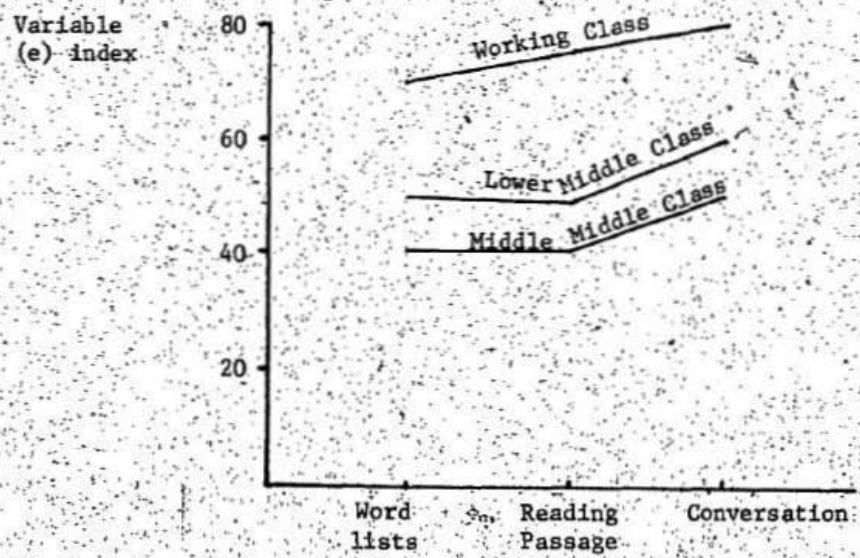


Figure 2.1

Covariation of variable (e) with social class and contextual style. Hypothetical example.

It is important to note that this sort of quantitative analysis is not

computer assisted in the studies mentioned above and typically no statistical tests are performed on the data.

2.3 Later sociolinguistics

Since the early 1970s, there have been important theoretical advancements in the sociolinguistic study of variability. Theoretical advancements center on the development of the variable rule by Labov (1969) and its subsequent refinement by members of the research team, including D. Sankoff, G. Sankoff and H. J. Cedergren, based at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

In the early 1970s, the advantages of two competing models, implicational scaling and variable rules, were much argued in the literature.[4] Implicational scales, as developed by DeCamp (1971), are arrangements of variables on a scalogram matrix in which the presence of one variable implies another. In the matrix below, where + = presence and - = absence, the presence of Variable A implies the presence of Variable B, or, in other words, if A, then B. 1, 2 and 3 are lects, which Bailey (1973:11) defines as "any bundling together of linguistic phenomena".

Table 2.1

A hypothetical example of an implicational scale.

	A	B
1	-	-
2	-	+
3	+	+

Refinements in the model include the incorporation of social parameters in the implicational array and the plotting of variable features on the matrix as well. Charles-James N. Bailey (1973) proposes a wave model of linguistic change in which linguistic features are ordered implicationally.

Implicational scaling has proven illuminating in the work of Bailey and Bickerton, for example. However, as Fasold (1970) notes, not all linguistic data are scalable. When variables are not sharply stratified, he argues, the quantitative analysis of frequencies enables generalizations that implicational scaling does not. Berdan (1975), in his criticism of the implicational model, notes that it assumes that the relationship among related lects is linear and additive. He also argues that an implicational array may actually be due to chance.

The variable rule model has become the standard model in recent variability studies. It is argued that a generative grammar must include variable rules along with categorical rules. In his 1969 study of the English copula in Black English, Labov determined that a copula deletion rule was constrained by a number of linguistic factors. His variable rule model, known as the additive model, predicts the frequency of application of a given rule, incorporating quantitative values for each constraint.

A major criticism of the additive model (and of variability studies in general) has been that its quantitative results are reflections of performance only and as such should not be confused with linguistic competence. However, the development of the more rigorous probabalistic model and its subsequent refinement has negated some of

this criticism.[5]

Criticism from within the paradigm has come from Kay and McDaniel (1978 and 1981). They point out that, while variable rule programs may be a very good method for describing the sociolinguist's observations, the model's most prominent advocates, Labov and D. Sankoff, do not address the question of the empirical claims that the mathematical assumptions of the variable rule make. To Kay and McDaniel, the most important question is the following: "Beyond the brute observations and their statistical description, what, if any, aspects of variable rule formalism should be attributed to the mental equipment of speakers?" (Kay and McDaniel 1981:257).

Criticism from outside the paradigm has come from Suzanne Romaine (1981, etc.). She criticizes the highly empirically based theory which "attempts to correlate an ever-increasing amount of linguistic data with more and more social factors. . . . Even if we do accept variable rules as making predictions of great accuracy about the occurrence of speakers' utterances, we still do not understand why anyone said anything" (Romaine 1981:113). Romaine also considers probability theories, as they are presently used, as too powerful and doubts, as do Kay and McDaniel, that "quantitative relations are, as Labov (1969:759) has maintained, 'the form of the grammar itself'" (Romaine 1981:101).

Robert Berdan criticizes what he calls "the sociolinguistic myth" which "maintains that individuals who are sociologically similar are linguistically similar--or at least they do not differ in linguistically interesting ways" (Berdan 1975:9). Berdan also addresses the

problem of aggregated data in sociolinguistic research, insisting that "the use of socially determined groups described by a single relative frequency has led to a confounding of interpersonal variation (heterogeneity in the group) with intrapersonal variation (inherent variation)" (Berdan 1975:34). He does, however, consider "the use of a probabilistic [i.e. variable rule] model to describe the data of variation . . . . much more satisfactory than any deterministic model as a formal expression of linguistic behavior. Still unresolved is the incompatibility of the claims of variable rules with the claims of the conventional generative competence grammar. They make fundamentally different claims about the nature of a linguistic rule and ultimately the nature of the grammar" (Berdan 1975:212).

The Cedergren-Sankoff program, as Kemp (1981) notes, is, however, standard to most variability studies, although some questions remain unanswered. The program is still in the process of revision.

Perhaps most important in the twenty years or so of sociolinguistic research has been the transition, noted by Gillian Sankoff in her own work and in the work of other variationists, "between studying the social context of language use (language structures presumed to be a separate matter, attended to by autonomous linguistics) and studying how the social nature of language use may constrain, influence, and shape language structure." This transition is "towards the view that language is structurally stamped by the fact of its use in social life" (G. Sankoff 1980:xvii-xviii).

Finally, two innovations in later sociolinguistic research should be mentioned here. The first is the use of a "linguistic marketplace"

scale instead of a social class index. Kemp (1981:3) notes that "having found the traditional componential notion of social class unsatisfactory, [the Montréal French team] has developed a scale which represents an evaluation of the degree to which the legitimized or standard language plays a role in the speaker's area of work". More specifically, the scale measures "how speakers' economic activity, taken in the widest sense, requires or is necessarily associated with, competence in the legitimized language . . ." (D. Sankoff and Laberge 1978:239). D. Sankoff and Laberge (1978:241) describe at length the grouping of speakers for the Montréal French project. The grouping relied essentially upon the intuitions of "8 professional and graduate student sociolinguists who had all observed and worked for several years on sociolinguistic relationships within the Francophone community of Montréal".

The second innovation, if it may be classified as such, is the study of the speech of the individual by Naro (1981) and Guy (1981). They believe that intracommunity variation is accurately reflected in the speech of the individual. Although this type of study has been done on limited data with apparently successful results, Romaine's criticisms of Naro (1978) seem justified:

> Naro, like a number of others, does not seem to take account of the fact that probabilities of the type used in variable rules predict over an aggregate and never in the individual instance . . . he assumes that social events should be explained by appeal to principles which govern the behavior of participating individuals in certain situations, and that social facts are reducible to facts about the behavior of individuals and individual human psychology. (Romaine 1981:103)

It would seem that the analysis of a large corpus of data for one

individual would prove most enlightening if compared with that of a larger sampling of the population.

2.4 The Adaptation of Labovian methodology to the French Newfoundland setting

2.4.0 Introduction. The adaptation of Labovian methodology to this thesis project proved difficult due to the rural setting as opposed to the urban setting of other variability studies. Much of the methodology outlined in Fasold & Shuy (1974) and Shuy, Wolfram & Riley (1968) proved inapplicable or had to be adapted for use in this rural study.

Crawford Feagin's 1979 study of Alabama English is one of two published variability studies which include rural informants. However, Feagin investigated locale (urban vs. rural) as a subject variable within a community of 60,000 people. Only 18% or 15 of 82 informants were classified as rural; these were "drawn from the older rural white population now living in Anniston" (Feagin 1979:25-6). Therefore, the variable urban vs. rural was investigated within an urban setting.

Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian's 1976 study of Appalachian English also included rural speakers. Tape recorded samples of spontaneous conversation were elicited by native born non-linguists who had been trained to do sociolinguistic interviews. The sample included informants of both sexes and five age levels. The majority of informants were of lower socio-economic class. Neither contextual style nor socio-economic class were independent variables in this study.

Modifications of Labovian methodology to the investigation of variability in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area are described below.

2.4.1 The sample. While it was known that the number of French speaking Port-au-Port area Newfoundlanders is not large, it proved difficult to even estimate the French-speaking population. Statistics Canada 1976 figures for the communities known to have French-speaking inhabitants are as follows:

Table 2.2

Statistics Canada (1976) population figures for Francophone communities in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area

Black Duck Brook (L'Anse-à-Canards)	132
Winter Houses (Maisons d'Hiver)	77
Mainland (La Grand'Terre)	382
Cape St. George[6] (Cap St.-Georges)	
March's Point (Point à Luc)	220
Red Brook (Ruisseau Rouge)	206
Degras	616
Cape St. George (Cap St.-Georges)	327
Total	1,960
Stephenville	10,284
Kippens	1,267
	11,551

L'Anse-à-Canards, Maisons d'Hiver and La Grand'Terre are small, unincorporated communities. More detailed information (for example, breakdown of the population according to mother tongue) is available only for larger enumeration areas. L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons d'Hiver

are included with the English community of West Bay; La Grand'Terre and Trois Cailloux (Three Rock Cove) form one enumeration area. Statistics Canada figures for mother tongue taken from censuses of the last thirty years are given in Appendix A.

The total French population of L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, La Grand'Terre, Cap St.-Georges, Kippens and Stephenville is 705, according to the 1976 census. A 1977 house-to-house survey conducted in L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver by King and Sellars as a preliminary to M.A. thesis research gave results which differ greatly from those reported in the 1976 census:[7]

1976 census (for West Bay, L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver)	
Total population	132
French mother tongue	30
1977 King/Sellars survey (L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver)	
Total population	167
French mother tongue	60

The number sixty does not include several residents who, while having learned French as their first language, were found to be much more competent in English. They are what Dorian (1976, etc.) would term "semi-speakers".

Under-reporting may be related to lack of prestige of the local variety of French. However, while L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver residents appear to be under-reporting, the Stephenville/Kippens figures (French mother tongue 245) do not reflect present day fluency in French, as will be seen below.

Obtaining a list of French speakers for communities other than

L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver was not possible by the traditional sampling techniques. Neither telephone directories nor lists of electors could be used since the majority of people with French surnames are of French descent but do not speak the language. Local Francophone associations have many English members. A house-by-house survey (such as our 1977 survey of L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver) in large communities such as Cap St.-Georges and Stephenville would have proven extremely time-consuming.

Lists for the remaining communities were eventually obtained with the help of a previously-known contact person in each community who compiled a list of all French speakers between the ages of 25 and 50, and over 60 (age is a two-valued subject variable in the research design). Each list was then checked by another resident of the community for errors and omissions. The L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver list has 45 names, the Cap St.-Georges list has 120 (there are probably omissions here since the community is large), the La Grand'Terre list has 30, the Kippens list has 63 (of whom no more than twenty proved to be French-speaking), and the Stephenville list has 73 (of whom no more than 15 proved to be French-speaking). The total number of fluent speakers is 230.[8]

A sample for each community, stratified according to age and sex, was then obtained through random selection from each list.

2.4.2 The questionnaire. Given the very high rate of illiteracy in French in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area, serious modification of the standard Labovian questionnaire was necessary.[9] Neither reading passages, word lists, nor minimal pair lists

could be used. It was decided, then, that formal style would be elicited through the use of structural elicitation frames such as the one given below:

Investigator: Moi, je dis la vérité.

Lui, _____

However, during the piloting of the questionnaire, it became apparent that only informants with a fairly high level of education (at least some high school) could respond to this elicitation technique. It seemed that abstraction from the real world situation was too difficult for the majority of older speakers, who had had little or no schooling. Even some younger speakers had difficulty with the elicitation frames and became impatient.

It was decided, then, that in order to make the task as pleasant and easy as possible for the informants, translation sentences would be used to elicit formal style. Many informants found the "guessing" of the French "answers" entertaining and most performed well. However, several older speakers responded to sentences containing third person references with difficulty.

It is readily admitted that translation has the disadvantage of prompting anglicized responses. However, the comparison of more formal and less formal styles (free conversation) serves as a check on anglicization in the more formal style. Thus, the questionnaire was restricted to only two elicitation techniques, translation on the one hand and general questions aimed at stimulating free conversation on the other.

2.4.3. Subject variables. Perhaps the most prominent subject variable in the sociolinguistic literature is social class. Traditionally in variability studies, a social class index is set up by which informants are ranked according to a number of status characteristics. Warner's (1949) status characteristics include occupation, source of income, house type and dwelling area. Trudgill (1974) establishes his social class index on the basis of the following social indicators: occupation, income, education, housing, locality and father's income (Trudgill 1974:36).

However, such indicators as the above do not relate to life in rural Newfoundland.[10] Among the 68 informants in this study, there is little variation in occupation, income or housing. Of the ten male L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver informants, for example, four are fishermen, three are retired fishermen, one is a trucker for a local fishplant, one owns a small fast-food establishment and one is unemployed. Nine of the ten female informants are housewives; the other works in the nearby fishplant. Any variation in income depends more often than not on how energetic a fisherman one is. There is little variation in housing. Virtually all are small, one-storey dwellings. Newer houses are owned by younger people.

There is strong correlation between education and age both in this sample and in the Port-au-Port area. Twenty-five out of thirty-eight older informants have had five years of schooling or less. Twenty-nine of thirty younger informants have finished elementary school and have had at least some high school. Stephenville informants, however, are better educated than their Port-au-Port counterparts. A complete

breakdown of the education levels attained by all informants is given in Tables 2.3 and 2.4.

Table 2.3

Level of education attained by informants under fifty years of age

Education	Locality					
	L'Anse-à-Canards		Cap St.-Georges		La Grand'Terre	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-2 years	–	–	–	–	–	–
3-5 years	–	1	–	–	–	–
6 years – High School	5	2	5	5	5	5
Trades School or some College	–	2	–	–	–	–

Finally, there does not seem to be any clearcut status attached to living in one Francophone community as opposed to another, with the possible exception of Stephenville. No areas of particular communities seem particularly prestigious. As for father's occupation as an indicator of social class, the fathers of the great majority of the informants were fishermen and/or farmers.

This is not to say that these are unstratified communities. Prolonged exposure to one community (L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver) points to the contrary. However, social class indices geared towards urban environments would not reflect this social stratification. Only

Table 2.4

Level of education attained by informants over sixty years of age

Education	Locality							
	L'Anse-à-Canards		Cap St.-Georges		La Grand'Terre		Stephenville	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-2 years	2	1	3	1	1	3	–	–
3-5 years	2	4	2	–	2	1	4	–
6 years - High School	1	–	–	4	1	–	–	5
Trades School or some College	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–

an in-depth knowledge of the inner workings of the community and of its social networks, as suggested by Milroy (1980), would provide a satisfactory social index for this rural setting. However, a network index based on objective quantification of such indicators as kinship ties, voluntary socializing, etc. for these four communities would require a massive amount of fieldwork beyond the scope of the present thesis.

2.4.4 Quantification. Due to the number and nature of the linguistic and extralinguistic variables under investigation here, quantification is more restricted in the Newfoundland French study than in many variability studies. The major variables investigated include both phonological and grammatical variables. The grammatical variables involve both case marking and cliticization of object pronouns.

Correlation of social and linguistic indices could not be easily effected since it is difficult to rank the values of syntactic variables along a continuum. For example, it is not apparent that the elicited form J'en donne à vous-autres ("I give some to you (pl)") is either more or less prestigious than Je vous donne de ça ("I give you some of that").

Given the larger number of grammatical variables than phonological variables, no attempt has been made here to write variable rules. G. Sankoff (1973) admits that much of the work done within the variable rule model is fragmentary, especially with regard to syntactic data. Most variability studies concentrate on phonological variation.[11] As for studies in which syntactic variation has been investigated, Sankoff's wh-raising rule and que-deletion rule for Montréal French incorporate only linguistic constraints, whereas S. Laberge's work on on usage in Montréal French incorporates only social constraints. Naro (1981) has,

however, successfully incorporated both linguistic and social constraints in his rules for Brazilian Portuguese. However, since Varbrul computer programs are still being revised and since there appear to be problems with the processing of variables which have small expected frequencies (as is often the case with syntactic variables), a variable rule program has not been used.[12] Instead the parametric statistic analysis of variance (ANOVA) has been performed wherever possible. The application of statistic tests to linguistic data in general and to these particular data will be discussed in 4.5.

Notes

1. See Newmeyer (1980) for comparison of structural linguistics with early Chomskyan theory.

2. While a dialect geographer such as Bartoli (see Bolinger 1975:355-6) might try to correlate historical evolution of language varieties with their synchronic geographical distribution, his theory is not part of a broader theory of language. Attempts to unite dialectology with structuralist theory proved ultimately unsatisfactory. See Chambers and Trudgill (1980:38-45).

3. See for example Wolfram and Fasold (1974:48-67) for detailed description of various elicitation techniques.

4. See especially Bickerton (1973) for arguments in favor of the implicational model and Fasold (1970) for arguments in favor of the variable rule model. Kay and McDaniel (1979) present further arguments against the variable rule whereas D. Sankoff and Labov (1979) present a rebuttal. Kay and McDaniel (1981) present counterarguments.

5. The formulae for both the additive and multiplicative models developed by the Montréal French team are given below:

The Additive Model

In the environment or context consisting of features i, j, . . ., k the probability that the rule will apply is p, where

$$p = p_o + p_i + p_j + \ldots + p_k$$

where p_o is a constant input parameter, and p_i, p_j, . . ., p_k are the

effects of features i, j, . . . k, respectively.

The Multiplicative Nonapplication Probabilities Model

$$(1 - p) = (1 - p_o) \times (1 - p_i) \times \ldots \times (1 - p_k),$$

where we require that p_o, p_i, . . . p_k all be probabilities, that is each is constrained to the interval 0 and 1, inclusive.

The Multiplicative Application Model

$$p = p_o \times p_i \times p_j \times \ldots \times p_k,$$

where, again, we require that p_o, p_i, . . . p_k all be probabilities (Rousseau and D. Sankoff, 1978).

Cedergren and D. Sankoff (1974) state that the main practical advantage of the two versions of the multiplicative model is that, unlike the additive model, it predicts only probabilities between 0 and 1. With the additive model, probabilities greater than 1 could be predicted. A very simple example is the hypothetical case of three constraints whose probability values are .3, .4, and .4 respectively. Added together, the probability value is 1.1; multiplied, it is .048. The major theoretical advantage is that the model presents "a very simple interpretation of the probabilistic component of linguistic competence" (Cedergren and D. Sankoff 1974:338).

6. The incorporated community of Cap.-St. Georges is made up of several smaller communities--Cap St.-Georges, Degras, Ruisseau Rouge and Pointe à Luc.

7. Both of these studies count only the over-fifteen population. The number of under-fifteen Francophones is extremely low.

8. Historically, French-speaking Newfoundlanders were scattered

throughout the Bay St. George area. Today, however, there are very few fluent speakers in St. Georges, Stephenville Crossing, or Flat Bay; and very few in communities such as Lourdes and West Bay on the Port-au-Port Peninsula. For practical reasons this study was conducted in communities where there were known to be at least several fluent French speakers. If we include children, adolescents, and people between the ages of fifty and sixty (not enumerated here), the number of actual French speakers in the Port-au-Port/Bay St. George area is probably somewhere between 400 and 1000.

9. It turned out that only two of the informants could read French. One of these was an over-60 male resident of Stephenville; the other was an over-60 female resident of L'Anse-a-Canards.

10. Two recent variability studies (Reid (1981) and Colbourne (1982)) of the English of two small Newfoundland communities found sharp stratification of linguistic variables according to age, sex, and in one case, religion/ethnicity; in the other case, education. In neither case was stratification according to socio-economic class investigated, for many of the reasons outlined here.

11. Lavandera (1978) argues against extending the variable rule model to non-phonological variables on semantic grounds, saying that such data need further interpretation beyond probabilistic analysis.

12. This problem was outlined in David Sankoff's paper "Contributions to a Theory of Syntactic Variation" given at the 1981 NWAVE conference.

CHAPTER III

LINGUISTIC AND NON-LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

3.1 Dependent Variables

A number of variable features of Newfoundland French were mentioned in 1.3, including variable realizations of /ɔ/, diphthongization of mid vowels, number marking in the third person plural verbal endings, use of the subjunctive and variation in the clitic pronouns. Rather than study variation in a number of randomly selected variables, several related variables have been studied so that the results might permit an integrated description of some aspect of the grammar of Newfoundland French. As mentioned previously, striking variation had been noted in clitic pronoun usage. Although clitics have been little studied in sociolinguistics, they are a core area of study in French generative grammar. They lend themselves easily to the study of variability as well, since clitic pronouns provide an easily delimited set of variables. It was decided, then, that variation in clitic pronoun usage in Newfoundland French would be investigated.

In 1.4, it was noted that the emphasis has traditionally been placed on the study of phonological variation in variability studies. However, since cliticization is perhaps the most debated aspect of the syntax of French, it was decided that syntactic variables would be included.[1] Anthony Naro (1981) makes an excellent case for the quantitative study of syntactic variation:

> Since syntactic change produces a finite number of discrete variants, it cannot be a process of gradual replacement of minutely differing forms, operating unobserved over time. In general, there is no surface continuum of realizations to be dealt with; rather, a certain (usually small) number of non-overlapping distinguishable variants can be identified and categorized. This circumstance . . . makes syntactic change an ideal site for observation of

linguistic change in progress. (Naro 1981:63)

P. H. Matthews defines clitics as "unaccented words which must lean for support on a neighbouring full word in their construction" (Matthews 1974:168). Zwicky (1977) and Jeffers and Zwicky (1980) distinguish between the simple clitic, "the ordinary unaccented form of a word which attaches phonologically to an adjacent word" (e.g. the English indefinite article, as in 'a pear' and 'an apple') and the special clitic "which is not so regularly associated phonologically with a full form . . . rather than attaching itself to a word which happens to be next to it, a special clitic is located within sentences by genuinely syntactic principles" (Zwicky 1980:55). The French unstressed pronouns are special clitics. Whereas English has only strong pronouns, French has both strong pronouns and clitic pronouns. The clitic pronouns of French differ from the strong pronouns in that they cannot occur without a verb (e.g. Qui est-ce? *Il.), cannot be contrastively stressed (e.g. *Il, souvent, va au cinéma.), and cannot be conjoined (e.g. *Il et elle vont au cinéma.).[2] Paradigms for the strong and clitic forms of the personal pronouns of Standard French[3] are shown in Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

Standard French also has object clitics y (which is usually used to replace the preposition à followed by an inanimate NP, as in Je vais à Montréal → J'y vais; ("I am going to Montréal." → "I am going there.") and en (which is usually used to replace de followed by an inanimate NP, as in Je mange des bonbons → J'en mange; "I am eating some candy" → "I am eating some."). The third person pronouns are also replacive. For example, the subject of the sentence Jean achète le livre. ("John buys

Table 3.1

The strong pronouns of Standard French. Underlying representations are given within slashes.

			Strong Pronouns	
Singular	First Person		moi	/mwɑ/
	Second Person		toi	/twɑ/
	Third Person	Masc.	lui	/lyi/
		Fem.	elle	/ɛl/
	Reflexive		soi	/swɑ/
Plural	First Person		nous	/nuz/
	Second Person		vous	/vuz/
	Third Person	Masc.	eux	/øz/
		Fem.	elles	/ɛlz/

Table 3.2

The first and second person subject and object clitics of Standard French. Underlying representations are given within slashes.

		Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
Singular	First Person	je /ʒə/	me /mə/	
	Second Person	tu /ty/	te /tə/	
Plural	First Person	nous /nuz/		
	Second Person	vous /vuz/		

Table 3.3

The third person subject and object clitics of Standard French. Underlying representations are given within slashes.

		Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
Singular	Masc.	il /il/	le /lə/	lui /lyi/
	Fem.	elle /ɛl/	la /la/	
Plural	Masc.	ils /ilz/	les /lez/	leur /lœr/
	Fem.	elles /ɛlz/		
Singular	Indeterminate	on /ɔn/	∅	
Reflexive		∅	se /sə/	

the book.") may be replaced by il. However, first and second person pronouns are not replacive.

When nous, vous, and elles are used as strong pronouns, final /z/ is not usually pronounced.[4] When they are used as clitics, the following rule applies to nous, vous, and elles, and to ils and les as well:

z → ∅ /___ #C (obligatory) Rule 1

The vowel of je, te, me, se, le, and la undergoes the following rule:

ə, a → ∅ /___ #V (obligatory) Rule 2

Object clitics co-occur in a fixed order in Standard French:

1	2	3	4	5
me	le	lui	y	en
te	la	leur		
se	les			
nous				
vous				

With the exception of the co-occurrence of two third person object clitics, indirect object pronouns are ordered before direct object pronouns (e.g. Il me le donne, but Je le lui donne). However, in affirmative imperative constructions, this order is reversed (e.g. Donne-le-moi; donne-le-lui). Clitics from the same group may not co-occur. Finally, clitics from Group 1 may not co-occur with clitics from Group 3.[5]

Of course, in all varieties of the spoken language, one will find variation from the literary norm. Most discussions of variation in clitic pronoun usage in North American French are generalizations of the type "Comme en français populaire de France, le clitique sujet de la 1re personne du pluriel est on" (Léard, 1978:125). Sankoff and Cedergren's 1971 quantitative study of /l/ deletion and Laberge's quantitative study of indefinite pronoun usage, both for Montréal French are, however, exceptions. The following is a list of "non-standard" usages drawn from a number of articles on Québécois:

1. deletion of /l/ of subject and object clitics (Sankoff and Cedergren (1971), Pupier and Pelchat (1972), Pupier and Légaré (1973), Laliberté (1974), Seutin (1975), Léard (1978), Morin (1979)).
2. phonological reductions of /lyi/ to [i] (Pupier and

Pelchat (1972), Seutin (1975), Léard (1978), Morin (1979)).

3. use of ils as third person subject clitic, regardless of gender (Pupier and Pelchat (1972), Seutin (1975), Léard (1978), Morin (1979), Ameringen and Cedergren (1981)).

4. lack of [z] of liaison with ils (Pupier and Légaré (1973), Pupier and Pelchat (1972), Seutin (1975), Morin (1979), Ameringen and Cedergren (1981)).

5. variable realizations of en, including [ɑ̃] and [nɑ̃] (Ameringen and Cedergren (1981), Le Glossaire du parler français au Canada).

6. variable realizations of the clitic leur, including [lø], [løz], and [jøz] (Pupier and Pelchat (1972), Seutin (1975)).

Guiraud (1965) notes features 1, 2, 3, and 5 as being prevalent in Metropolitan français populaire. Morin (1979) and Frei (1929) note as well Metropolitan usages such as Donne-moi-z-en; "Give me some." and as in feature 4 above, Je leur-z-ai dit; "I told them". Frei's Grammaire des fautes (1929) includes such "mistakes" in the français populaire of his time as uniformity of clitic order in the affirmative imperative constructions with other constructions (e.g. Il me le donne; "He gives it to me." Donne-moi-le; "Give it to me".) and a tendency towards invariable se as in Je s'en fous; "I don't give a damn". Frei's remarks on the evolution of French clitic order bear repeating:

Lorsqu'il y a deux objets, l'un direct et l'autre

> indirect, l'évolution présente trois étapes: 1. On a dit, jusqu'au XV^{e} siècle: Je le vous donne, et on a aujourd'hui encore: Il le lui donne; 2. On dit aujourd'hui: Je vous le donne; 3. La solution d'avenir est: Je vous donne ça. A chaque étape, le pronom représentant l'objet 1 avance d'un cran:
> 1) sujet + objet 1 + objet 2 + verbe
> 2) sujet + objet 2 + objet 1 + verbe
> 3) sujet + objet 2 + verbe + objet 1
> (Frei 1929:165)

Frei's hypothesis will be compared with the results for cliticization in Newfoundland French in Chapter VIII.

All of the features mentioned above for Québécois and Metropolitan français populaire have been noted for Newfoundland French, with the exception of /l/ deletion in direct object clitics le and la (e.g. je la vois [ʒavwa] "I see her or it".) which is unattested in the 1980 corpus. Feature 2, phonological reduction of lui, is presented as categorical in the literature, but is variable in Newfoundland French. Several other variable features have also been noted for the Newfoundland variety.

Since Rules 1 and 2 given earlier in this section apply categorically to all varieties of French, variation such as nous [nu] ~ [nuz] will not be quantified here. Secondly, since tu is realized as [t] before a vowel in all but the most formal styles of most varieties of French, [ty] ~ [t] variation will not be quantified either. Variation in clitic pronoun usage in Newfoundland French may be divided essentially into the following categories:

1. variation in the phonological shape of clitic pronouns (e.g. lui [lɥi] ~ [i]; il [il] ~ [i]; en [ɑ̃] ~ [nɑ̃], etc.)
2. variation in grammatical marking of object clitics (e.g.

variable loss of accusative-dative distinctions)

3. cliticization of one and two object clitics.

Consequently, the major dependent variables of this study are the following:

1. /l/ deletion (for il, elle, and ils; as well as lui and leur)
2. en (variable realizations including [ɑ̃]~[nɑ̃] ~ [n̩])
3. grammatical marking (of third person object clitics)
4. cliticization of 1st and 2nd person object pronouns
5. cliticization of 3rd person object pronouns
6. cliticization of reflexive pronouns
7. cliticization of y
8. cliticization of en
9. co-occurrence of object clitics

Given the non-replacive nature of the first and second person object clitics, they are here grouped as one major variable. Minor variables--that is, those which occur very rarely in the corpus (such as use of on and variation in the phonological shape of clitic nous)--have also been quantified. Methods of elicitation of the dependent variables will be outlined in 4.2.

3.2 Independent Variables (linguistic)

The independent linguistic variables of this study include a number of both phonological and syntactic environments which may be expected to condition the variant forms of the dependent variables listed in 3.1 above. Sankoff and Cedergren's study of /l/ deletion

measured covariation of /l/ deletion with the following phonological variables:

/ ____ C

/ ____ Y

/ ____ V

(where C = consonant, Y = yod, and V = vowel).

The present study of /l/ deletion in Newfoundland French quantifies frequency of /l/ deletion in these three environments, as well as in the environment /____L, where L = /l/ as the initial segment of an object clitic. As will be seen in 4.4, the sequences

{il, elle} {le, la, les, lui, leur} VERB

are problematical in an analysis of /l/ deletion in Newfoundland French. For the other phonological variables, the phonological environments are the following:

1. V ____ V
2. V ____ C
3. C ____ V
4. C ____ C
5. # ____ C
6. # ____ V
7. C ____ #
8. V ____ #

(where # means sentence boundary).

Phonological variation was quantified for all of the above phonological

environments although it was not hypothesized that all environments would influence variation. A preliminary survey indicated that only some of them possibly conditioned variation. However, in order that possible subtleties would not be missed, all were included here.

In environments 1 through 4 above, the subject clitic of each token ends with a consonant or vowel and the verb begins with a consonant or vowel. In environments 5 and 6, either the subject clitic occurs after the verb in an interrogative inversion construction or, in the case of two verb constructions, the object clitic attaches to the lower verb. In environments 7 and 8, the object clitic attaches postverbally.

For the grammatical dependent variables, the data were initially quantified according to phonological environment. However, since phonological environment does not appear to influence grammatical variation these divisions have been collapsed in the text and results are presented according to grammatical construction.

The independent syntactic variables, however, would appear to condition both phonological and grammatical variation. The five grammatical constructions given below were chosen because, in Standard French at least, the object clitic occurs in a different syntactic position in each:

1. affirmative constructions (e.g. Il me donne de l'argent. "He gives me some money.")
2. interrogative constructions (e.g. Me donne-t-il de l'argent? "Does he give me some money?")
3. affirmative imperative constructions (e.g. Donne-moi de l'argent! "Give me some money!")

4. futur proche constructions (e.g. Il va me donner de l'argent. "He is going to give me some money.")

5. faire-infinitive constructions (e.g. Je lui fais acheter une voiture. "I make him buy a car.")

The position of the object clitic is constrained, then, by the type of syntactic construction in which it occurs. For each of these constructions, the translation section of the questionnaire was designed to elicit responses requiring both one and two object clitics, as will be seen in 4.2.

3.3 Independent Variables (nonlinguistic)

3.3.0 Introduction. The nonlinguistic variables of this study are age, sex, style, locality and language loyalty. All of these variables, with the exception of course of locality, have been shown by other sociolinguistic studies to contribute to linguistic variation within the speech community.

3.3.1 Age. Age will be investigated here as an independent variable as it relates to generation differences in phonological and grammatical patterns. By comparing the speech of older and younger generations, linguistic change may be studied in apparent time. Perhaps the most famous study of age differentiation is Labov's study of post-vocalic /r/ in New York City in which he found r-lessness to be socially stigmatized by the under-forty generation.[7]

In the present study, the speech of the generation of French Newfoundlanders born before 1920 will be compared to that of the generation born in the 1940s. This older generation would have been

born during the early years of French settlement in the area and would have had more contact with French and much less contact with English during their formative years than would the younger generation. The younger speakers would have grown up during the years when local belief in the inferiority of the French language and culture was at its highest. It is hypothesized that the older generation of speakers will not have undergone linguistic changes which have affected younger generations.

3.3.2 Sex. The predominant finding of variability studies with regard to sex as a sociolinguistic variable is the following:

> Women, allowing for other variables such as age, education and social class, consistently produce linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men, or alternatively, that they produce more forms of this type more frequently. (Trudgill 1975:89)

Trudgill feels that the greater degree of status consciousness of women may be attributed to (a) the social position of women as subordinate and (b) the rating of women in this society according to norms of overt prestige. Trudgill (1972) and Labov (1966) have also found that non-standard, working class speech enjoys a covert prestige for men, who perceive (often unconsciously) this type of speech as more masculine.

The great majority of adult French Newfoundlanders have received no formal instruction in French and, especially in the case of women, have limited contact with the outside world. We would not expect them to have active command of "educated" French. It is hypothesized, however, that if women are more prestige conscious than men, they will exhibit more variation between formal and informal speech styles.

3.3.3 Style. Labovian strategies for the elicitation of a variety of speech styles have been discussed in 2.2. Comparison of the speech of different social groups according to style has revealed the following crossover pattern for certain variables:

> In less formal styles, the lower middle class uses less r than the upper middle class, but in more formal styles, the frequency of r presence is greater for the lower middle class than for the upper middle class. This is what might be called statistical hypercorrection. (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:86-87, reporting on Labov's study of postvocalic /r/ in New York City)

Unfortunately, social stratification is not investigated in this study. However, we hypothesize the use here of more conservative French in the formal style, including the possibility of structural hypercorrection, i.e. the application of an improperly learned rule (an often quoted example is the radio announcer's noon news [nju·n nju·z]).

3.3.4 Locality. Regional variation has its basis in different settlement patterns. For example, given the Acadian settlement of Stephenville, as opposed to the basically Metropolitan French settlement of the Port-au-Port Peninsula, one would expect variation between present-day Stephenville/Kippens and Port-au-Port French. Phonological variation of the sort je connais~je counnais has been noted in 1.3. Physical geography may hinder communication and isolation may lead to geographical variation. In order that the speech of all four communities may be compared, locality is investigated here as an independent variable. The inclusion of locality as an independent variable is a departure from traditional variability studies, which concentrate on the speech of a single community.

3.3.5 Language loyalty. As was mentioned in 2.4, an objective network analysis of social interaction was beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the subjective attitudes of the informants towards their language have been ranked along an index of language loyalty in order that group solidarity might be investigated as a sociolinguistic variable. Dorian (1981) has shown that language loyalty has affected the linguistic output of East Sutherland Gaelic speakers. Since many parallels may be drawn between the East Sutherland Gaelic and the Newfoundland French situations--e.g. bilingualism, isolation--the inclusion of language loyalty as an independent variable seemed particularly appropriate.

Informants were ranked according to their directly elicited responses to the following questions:

1. What language do you normally speak at home?	1 French
	2 English & French
	3 English
2. With whom do you speak French?	1 family & friends
	2 family
	3 friends
3. How often do you speak French?	1 every day
	2 several times a week
	3 several times a month
	4 rarely

The values of each of three variables above are ranked in descending order of language loyalty (that is, the lower the value, the greater the degree of language loyalty). A score based on answers to the three questions was computed and speakers were grouped accordingly. However, for reasons which will be discussed in section 8.6, the scale proved to be of minimal value since the range of informant scores was very small.

Notes

1. The standard work on French syntax is Kayne (1975), based on his 1969 M.I.T. Ph.D. dissertation. Kayne's basic argument is that object clitics originate as NPs (except for y and en, which originate as Pro-PPs) and are dominated by the VP node. They may be, and in most cases are, obligatorily moved by transformation to preverbal position and are attached to the verb.

Kayne (1972) and Kayne (1979) also deal with clitic pronouns. Each reflects the particular Chomskyan model of the time. Kayne's 1975 analysis has been disputed by Emonds (1976), working within the structure-preserving framework, Fiengo and Gitterman (1978), working within REST, and Morin (1978, 1979a), who criticizes a syntactic analysis and would seem to favor a morphological treatment of cliticization.

2. See Kayne (1972).

3. Standard French here refers to the educated norm used in writing and in formal, oral communication. It is not used to refer to any particular regional variety of spoken French. The phonological model used here is basically a generative approach, in which for example the final /z/ of underlying /vuz/ would be deleted before a consonant. The underlying phonological representations given here correspond to those of Morin (1979b).

4. The final /z/ of the strong pronouns is pronounced in nous-autres, vous-autres, elles-autres, and eux-autres.

5. For outlines of the evolution of French clitics and of French clitic order, see Nyrop (1925) and Harris (1978).

6. These examples are taken from Pupier and Pelchat (1972:327).

7. See Labov (1966).

CHAPTER IV

DATA GATHERING AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 The Sample

It was estimated in 2.4 that the actual number of French-speaking Newfoundlanders presently living in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area is somewhere between 400 and 1000. Since this is a relatively small population, it was possible to interview a large sample within a reasonable amount of time. A strict random sample would have been proportionate with the various social groups of the community. That is, if one-third of the population were unskilled laborers, one-third of the sample would be made up of unskilled laborers and so on. This method was followed with some modification by Trudgill (1974). Labov (1966), however, obtains a stratified sample for a number of pre-determined subject variables. Wolfram and Fasold comment:

> In some cases, [a strict random sampling] may result in excessive numbers of subjects representing one group while another group is under-represented for the sake of a sociolinguistic analysis. . . . It is often more efficient to obtain a representative sample for predetermined social categories. . . . Informants can be chosen randomly until an adequate number is obtained to represent each cell. This procedure avoids the problem of over- and under-representation for particular social categories, because the investigator stops selecting informants for given cells when a quota is reached. (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:38)

This second method has been used here for the obvious reason that one cannot be sure of either the population size or the distribution of social groups within the community. In this research design there are four geographical locations, two sexes, and two age groups. Therefore the total number of cells is 4 x 2 x 2 = 16, as shown in Table 4.1.

With five informants per cell, the sample would consist of eighty informants. As was described in 2.4, informants were randomly selected

Table 4.1

Distribution of the Newfoundland French sample according to sex, age, and locality

Locality	Sex	
	1 (Male)	1 (Female)
1 (L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver)	1 (-50)	1 (-50)
	2 (+60)	2 (+60)
2 (Cap St.-Georges)	1 (-50)	1 (-50)
	2 (+60)	2 (+60)
3 (La Grand'Terre)	1 (-50)	1 (-50)
	2 (+60)	2 (+60)
4 (Stephenville)	1 (-50)	1 (-50)
	2 (+60)	2 (+60)

from community lists. In Cap St.-Georges and L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, the required number of informants per cell were obtained with little difficulty. However, in La Grand'Terre, problems arose due to the surprisingly low number of older speakers available. Of the six male Francophone residents of the community over the age of sixty, two were in ill health and could not be interviewed. Of the seven female Francophones over the age of sixty, one was in ill health and two were found to be very hard of hearing. Unfortunately, then, two cells (La Grand'Terre over-sixty males and females) have only four informants each.

As was mentioned in 1.1, it was impossible to find any French speakers in Stephenville/Kippens under the age of fifty. All potential informants contacted proved either to be unilingual English speakers or to have only a limited passive knowledge of French. Thus, there are no informants under fifty years of age for Stephenville/Kippens. The total number of informants, given the scarcity of older La Grand'Terre Francophones and younger Stephenville Francophones, is sixty-eight. Table 4.2 gives the revised research design, together with the number of informants and mean age per cell (in brackets).

Table 4.2

Actual cell sizes for the Newfoundland French sample. Mean ages are given in brackets.

Locality	Sex	
	1 (Male)	2 (Female)
1 (L'Anse-à-Canards / Maisons d'Hiver)	5 (35)	5 (32)
	5 (69)	5 (69.4)
2 (Cap St.-Georges)	5 (37.8)	5 (36.2)
	5 (65.2)	5 (68.2)
3 (La Grand'Terre)	5 (34.8)	5 (36.8)
	4 (63.5)	4 (68.25)
4 (Stephenville)	5 (68.6)	5 (70.2)

The subject variables have been assigned the following values:

Locality--1 L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver; 2 Cap St.-Georges; 3 La Grand'Terre; 4 Stephenville/Kippens

Age--1 under fifty; 2 over sixty

Sex--1 male; 2 female

The genealogical backgrounds of the sixty-eight informants are presented in detail in Appendix A, but will be briefly summarized here. Nine informants gave France as their father's birthplace. Twenty-four gave France as the birthplace of their paternal grandfather. Ten gave France as the birthplace of their maternal grandfather while one informant gave St. Pierre, a stopover point for ships engaged in the French shore fishery. Since many of the French from France were believed to have been deserters from military service, one would not expect many of the informants' female ancestors to have been born in France. Four informants gave Cape Breton Island as their paternal grandfather's birthplace, four as their paternal grandmother's birthplace and eight as their mother's father's birthplace.[1] With very few exceptions, other parents and grandparents were all born in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area.

The sixty-eight informants of this study are a largely non-mobile group. In Table 4.3, the number of years the informants have spent away from their home community are given.[2]

These figures show female informants to be less mobile than male informants, as would be expected. In the past, many male informants fished in their home communities during the summer but went in the

Table 4.3

Number of years informants have spent away from their home community.

No. of years away	Male	Female	Age
1 year or less	5	13	-50
	5	13	60+
1-3 years	5	1	-50
	6	3	60+
4-6 years	6	1	-50
	5	2	60+
7-9 years	-	-	-50
	2	1	60+
Total	34	34	

winter to work for several months in the lumber camps near Deer Lake and Corner Brook. For informants such as these, absences of two or more years from their home community are the total of several winters in the lumberwoods. Today, with the high level of unemployment in the area, many young people go to Toronto or Calgary for a year or so, return home for a couple of years and then leave again for another short stay in an urban center. Some younger informants have also worked in Cape Breton lumbercamps in the fall. In general, though, they maintain homes in their home communities and do not leave for extended periods.

The level of education obtained by informants has been given in 2.4. All of the informants are bilingual in English and French. Perhaps a dozen French monolinguals remain in the Port-au-Port area--they are all

over the age of sixty. None have been included in this sample since monolingualism versus bilingualism would have added an extraneous variable and necessitated major restructuring of the questionnaire. Further biographical information for the informants is given in Appendix A.

4.2 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study is presented in its entirety in Appendix C. Its format is outlined below.

The questionnaire is divided into three sections. Section A consists of a number of questions designed to elicit narratives or descriptions from the informant. These questions deal for the most part with past and present-day life in the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area. In many instances, the questions were not strictly adhered to, but were used to prompt the informant with subjects for conversation when necessary. Where possible, and this was often the case with older informants, the informant played the major role in directing the conversation.

Section B consists of one hundred and twenty-four English sentences designed to elicit French translations containing the dependent variables of this study. A number of sentences were devoted to each variable. For example, fourteen sentences were designed to elicit the reflexive pronoun in each grammatical person and both numbers, and in as many phonological and syntactic environments as possible. In addition, more test sentences were designed so as to elicit more than one variable. For example, Sentence #67

He gives you some money.

would elicit responses containing information on second person cliticization and third person /l/ deletion. This section of the interview was of necessity conducted in English.

Section C consists of questions concerning the informants' background (e.g. education, place of birth, etc.), a number of questions aimed at directly eliciting subjective language attitudes, and a final section of "informant intuition" questions. In these latter, informants were asked how often they heard a number of sentences containing clitics. Informants' intuitions were compared with performance in Sections A and B of the questionnaire.

4.3 The Interviews

Fieldwork for this study was done during a seven-week period from mid-June to early August 1980, with an average of ten interviews being conducted a week. Potential informants were approached in person, and, if they were free at the time, the interview took place that day. Otherwise, another time was arranged. However, since fieldwork was done during the height of the fishing season, two or three return visits were sometimes required to find fishermen at home. Interviews were fairly evenly distributed between morning, afternoon, and evening sessions.

Only one potential Cap St.-Georges informant refused to take part in the study. Two Cap St.-Georges interviews were ultimately rejected because in one case very little free conversation was elicited and in the other the informant's knowledge of English was too limited for him to translate several of the sentences of Section B. In L'Anse-à-Canards/

Maisons d'Hiver there were no refusals. In Stephenville/Kippens and La Grand'Terre, there were perhaps three or four refusals per community. Even though there was difficulty in finding older La Grand'Terre informants and several days fieldwork were spent in search of young Stephenville Francophones, the interviews were completed within a relatively short period of time.

Informants' willingness to be interviewed was due to perhaps two factors. First of all, the investigator was previously known to at least one-third of the informants. In the case of those informants with which the investigator was not previously acquainted, there often proved to be mutual friends and acquaintances. The great majority of informants were not at all suspicious of the purpose of the interview.[3] Secondly, the Port-au-Port Peninsula especially is still an isolated area. People see very few "strangers" and therefore feel little suspicion or coldness towards them. Many informants, in particular the older ones, found the interview to be quite entertaining.

Interviews took two to three hours on the average. The usual order of presentation of questionnaire sections was the following: translation sentences, background information, free conversation, direct questioning about language. Free conversation presented little difficulty for older informants; however, some had difficulty with the translation sentences. With younger speakers, it was often the opposite. While translation was easy, many younger informants were shy about talking at length with the tape recorder running and had to be prompted with many questions.

During perhaps two-thirds of the interviews, other members of

the informant's family were present. In these cases, family members were encouraged to participate in the free conversation section of the interview. In this way, the informant was hopefully made to feel less self-conscious, since less attention was focused on him or her alone. However, the translation section was addressed directly to the informant.

4.4 Transcription and coding

Transcription of each tape-recorded interview took approximately six to seven hours. Given the average of one hour of free conversation per informant, the complete transcription of each informant's free conversation would have proven quite time-consuming. Instead, only those phrases which contained a clitic pronoun (e.g. Il nous a parlé.) and those in which cliticization was possible but did not occur (e.g. L'homme a donné le livre à nous-autres.) were transcribed. Only those phrases containing phonological variables were transcribed phonetically.

As for the translation sentences, a number of possible French translations were given on the questionnaire. If the informant's translation was one of the alternatives listed, it was checked during the course of the interview. Otherwise, it was written in the space provided after each translation sentence. In the case of sentences involving fine phonetic distinctions, an impressionistic judgment was made during the interview and the sentence was marked with a question mark. All field decisions were later checked during the transcription of the corpus. Transcription of the entire corpus took four months.

During the original design of the questionnaire, a numerical

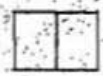
code was assigned to each value of each dependent and each independent variable. Each dependent variable had a separate coding formula which was used uniformly for all sentences containing the variable. A numerical code of the linguistic environment in which variables occurred was associated with each sentence. The following is an example taken from Section B (translation sentences):

42. He gives me some money. Il me donne de l'argent.

V127 (cliticization first or second person object)

V128 (1-deletion)

V129 (realization of en)



V130 (linguistic environment)

Even though en does not occur in this sentence, a column is allowed here in order that coding of all sentences dealing with first and second person cliticization (a subsection of Section B) be uniform. The column would be used, for instance, if the translation sentence were "He gives me some." Thus all first and second object clitic target sentences would have four variables associated with them. The six columns given above would occupy the same position on the same computer card for each informant. A total of ten eighty-column computer cards was needed to store all the data of Section B and Section C for each informant.

In order that results for translation and free conversation might be readily compared, only those structures also found in the translation section were computerized for the free conversation. A

sentence such as I' me parle de ses amis., with /l/ deletion, then, would be assigned to the same linguistic environment, V_C, as the translation sentence "He gives me some money." (possible translation: I' me donne de l'argent). Both involve first person cliticization in the same phonological environment. Therefore computer cards #11-30 for each informant would contain variables corresponding to each translation sentence. For example, the translation sentence of Section B

46. He gives me some money.

□□ V127 (1-2 cliticization)

□ V128 (1 deletion)

□ V129 (en realization)

□□ V130 (linguistic environment)

would have a corresponding structure for the free conversation

□□ CV209

□ CV210

□ CV211

□□ CV212

Of course this structure might not actually occur in the free conversation of any or all of the informants, in which case a zero (indicating missing data) would be placed in each column.

Finally, for each possible "sentence" in free conversation three columns were allotted for the number of actual occurrences and the three following columns were allotted for the number of possible occurrences. For example, if an informant's free conversation contained five occurrences of first person cliticization in the abovementioned environment, but in two others there was no cliticization (e.g. Il donne de l'argent

à moi.) five out of seven possible occurrences would be noted. Calculations of each individual informant's performance in the free conversation were computed manually and then coded.

As for the coding of the background information, a numerical code was assigned to each value of each variable in the following manner:

Q. 131. Age 1. less than 50 — [1] V475

2. more than 60

Coding of the entire corpus of free conversation, translation sentences, and background information was completed within four months.

Some problems were encountered in the transcription of the corpus. All involved phonological variables. It had been noted previously that denasalization is a variable feature of Newfoundland French.[4] Thus it was not surprising that the element en was found to have variable nasalization. A number of spectrograms were made in order to establish that in some instances there was indeed denasalization. All sentences involving en were thus carefully checked and a decision made between lack of nasalization or very slight nasalization on the one hand and greater nasalization on the other.

The second problem was the case of the juxtaposition of a third person subject clitic and a third person direct object clitic as in Il la voit. ("He sees her.") which may be realized either [illavwa] with [l] gemination or [ilavwa] with an ungeminated [l].

It is hypothesized that an L Deletion rule may apply to the underlying structure

/ il + la + vwa /

and the /l/ of the subject clitic may be deleted. This hypothesis will be discussed in more detail in 5.6.

Spectrographic evidence revealed a definite lengthening of /l/ in this environment in some instances and a lack of lengthening in others. However, given the large amount of data involved, it would have proven much too time-consuming to make spectrograms of each occurrence of this sequence. Instead, a native speaker of Finnish, who is also a trained linguist, was hired to listen to all sequences involving a third person subject clitic followed by a third person object clitic. Since Finnish has distinctive [l] gemination it was felt that her decisions would be more trustworthy than those of an Anglophone.

The research assistant and the author listened to each of these sequences individually and made a decision regarding the length of each [l]. When decisions differed, we listened to the sequence together. If there was still disagreement, the judgment of the research assistant was accepted as final.

A final problem involved the coding of sentences such as

[i i dɔn lə lɪv] (S.F. Il lui donne le livre.)

The environment coded for the phonological variable Lui was V__C. This, of course, is the surface environment. However, we cannot be sure that lui is reduced to [i] before the L Deletion rule applies (il → i). Indeed, it is hypothesized later in this thesis that the two "l"s undergo a double deletion rule.

Since Sankoff and Cedergren (1971) do not consider the environment __L as separate from __C, they offer no clues as to how to deal with the problem. It was decided that, since we only have direct access

to surface structure, it would be these environments which would be coded. Since we do not know if, at the stage of lui reduction, the phonological environment is C__C or V__C, it seemed safer to code V__C.

4.5 Computerization and statistical analysis

In 2.4 the reasons for the decision not to use a variable rule computer program were outlined. Instead, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for the computerization of the Newfoundland French corpus. An archive file was set up consisting of a total of 1225 pieces of data for each of 68 informants.

The choice of statistical test proved difficult. In the post-1970 sociolinguistic literature, we find the use of both parametric and nonparametric procedures, the latter being considered "'distribution free' since they make no assumption with regard to the distribution of scores in the population . . . Parametric models, such as T-tests and F-tests in the analysis of variance, assume normally distributed scores" (Heermann and Braskamp 1970:35).

The nonparametric test Chi-square has been used by Biondi (1975), Fasold (1972), Feagin (1979), Neu (1980), and Wolfram (1974). However, as Lewis and Burke (1970) point out, Chi-square is often misused. They outline nine sources of error found in the use of Chi-square in fourteen psychological papers, including lack of independence among measurements, small theoretical frequencies, use of non-frequency data, etc. Davis (1982) points out cases of the misapplication of Chi-square in the work of Wolfram, Feagin, and Fasold. Both Fasold and Feagin have results in which there appears to be a definite pattern to the variation, but which

did not prove to be statistically significant. In view of this, Fasold concludes:

> In the study of correlation with social factors, statistical significance turned up only sporadically, but the general patterns repeated themselves for feature after feature, whether statistical significance could be demonstrated or not. These facts seem to indicate that statistical tests tend to be superfluous in linguistic analysis, even of variable phenomena, and are not particularly helpful in the analysis of the influence of social factors on speech. (Fasold 1972:221)

Davis (1982:89) points out that it is not valid to reject the use of a statistic because we have not obtained desired results. These results may be explained by either (a) misuse of the statistic or (b) incorrect hypotheses.

As was mentioned in 2.4, Robert Berdan has pointed to the aggregated data problem in sociolinguistic research. Following Labovian methodology, it is common to aggregate the data for several speakers within a cell, thus assuming internal homogeneity, or, as is perhaps more often the case, linguistically uninteresting variation. It is also common to aggregate the data for several items of a sociolinguistic questionnaire, usually according to predetermined contextual style. The latter sort of aggregation is, for the reasons given below, less serious.

It might be argued that the individual items of a questionnaire are not independent trials and that it is not valid to aggregate data over several trials. However, we conceive of the questionnaire itself as being a trial. To draw a parallel with experiments in animal psychology, the individual turns of a maze through which rats are run are not considered separate trials; rather, the maze itself is the instrument. Likewise, it is argued that the questionnaire, or at least separate

sections of the questionnaire, are instruments. Otherwise, we are forced to restrict our analyses to the level of the individual item, which would prove at the very least painstaking.

Chi-square is relatively easy to compute, is performed upon frequency data, and does not need a normal distribution of scores. The data need only be nominal. There is a possibility of a rather high percentage of Type I errors (in which the null hypothesis is correct but is rejected); however, this percentage is diminished with higher degrees of freedom.

The T-test, used in the comparison of two means, and the analysis of variance (ANOVA), used in the comparison of more than two means, are parametric statistics which must be performed upon interval data. Both tests assume a normal distribution. However, quite often in the social sciences, this is not the case. Snodgrass (1977:356) points out that "when population probability values are truly different from one another, the population distributions will not have the same shape or the same variance, and thus the parametric statistical techniques are not appropriate." However, some statisticians find a non-normal distribution more of a problem than others. Glass and Stanley (1970:374) consider "the fixed effects ANOVA to be remarkably insensitive to departures from normality; and when n's are equal, it is equally unaffected by heterogeneous variances". However, when distributions are far from normal, it is advisable to apply a transformation to the data to make the variance and shapes of distributions equal everywhere in the range. It would seem, however, that since the comparison would now be made not between means but between transformed means that there would be

a certain loss of interpretability.

Milroy (1980) has applied ANOVA to both percentage scores and index scores of her Belfast data. She does not mention whether or not the scores are normally distributed. Flikeid (1981) has applied log transformations to her northern New Brunswick data.

Another problem with the analysis of variance is that it allows for the interaction of independent variables, e.g. the interaction of variables sex and age may prove to be statistically significant for a given dependent variable. According to the Cedergren-Sankoff model, variable constraints act independently--the Cedergren-Sankoff variable rule program averages differences between cells, thus cancelling out the possibility of statistical interaction. But as Robert Berdan (1975: 202ff) points out, the claim of independence of social and linguistic variables, that "the theory of language [does not] allow for interactions within the grammar of the individual", is very strong. To the present author it seems counterintuitive and more a function of the statistical model than of the grammar itself.

It is obvious, then, that there are certain problems involved in the application of statistical tests to sociolinguistic data. Since ANOVA is a more robust statistic, that is, the violation of some of its assumptions is not as serious as would be the violation of the assumptions of statistics such as Chi-square, it was decided that ANOVA would be performed upon the data in this thesis.

The statistic has not, however, been applied blindly. In cases where the results are very nearly categorical (and therefore very far from being normally distributed), ANOVA has not been applied. These

cases include the linguistic conditioning of /l/ deletion in less formal style and both the social and linguistic conditioning of y cliticization. Neither has ANOVA been applied to the results for third person grammatical marking, where the array of variants is complex and their distribution is unclear. Obviously the application of a statistic to heavily aggregated results, such as summary tables for cliticization in general according to age and sex, would be unrevealing. The very fact of such a degree of aggregation would make the source of variation uninterpretable. Nor has ANOVA been applied in cases where much more data exists for some values of a variable than for others. For example, in the case of the cliticization of en according to linguistic environment in more formal style, there is much more data for the realization of en in the indicative than in other grammatical constructions. This is unfortunately also the case in free conversation for most grammatical variables.

The statistic has been applied, however, wherever the data were not considered to be overly aggregated and where the results would be interpretable. ANOVA has been applied to the data for most major dependent variables--/l/ deletion, cliticization of each type of object pronoun in one-clitic and two-clitic constructions, en realization--according to sex, age, and locality in more formal style.[5] It has also been applied to the /l/ deletion results according to linguistic environment in more formal style.

Along with the statistical significance level of the results for the abovementioned variables, all of the results in this thesis are presented in summary tables of relative frequencies of occurrence. Where

it was felt appropriate, the results are also presented in graph form to elucidate the point being made.

Notes

1. No informant gave Cape Breton Island as the birthplace of a parent. Acadian settlement, it would appear, did not continue as late as Metropolitan French settlement in the area.

2. One male informant was born in La Grand'Terre, but moved as a very young child to Cap St.-Georges. Because of his long residency, he is one of the Cap St.-Georges informants. The other male informant was employed seasonally for many years in the lumberwoods.

One Kippens resident was born in Stephenville but moved as an adult to Stephenville Crossing at the time of construction of the Harmon airforce base. She moved to Kippens several years later.

Studies by Labov (1977) and Payne (1980) have shown that "children who enter [a] community before the age of 8 rapidly acquire the phonetic variables under the influence of their peers" (Labov 1980: xviii). The inclusion of these informants as representatives of the communities they now live in is therefore felt to be justified.

3. Informants were told that the investigator was collecting information on the French heritage (including linguistic) of the area and wanted to talk especially about past and present-day life there. All were assured that their individual information would be kept strictly confidential.

4. King (1978) notes a tendency towards denasalization on the part of younger speakers.

5. The SPSS subroutine ANOVA was used in these analyses. Since age is a random (as opposed to a fixed) variable, necessary adjustments to the error terms were made for these ANOVA runs.

CHAPTER V

VARIATION IN THE SUBJECT CLITICS

5.1 Introduction

The Standard French subject clitic paradigm was presented in Table 3.2. The corresponding paradigm for Newfoundland French appears below:

Table 5.1

The subject clitics of Newfoundland French. Underlying representations are given within slashes.

Person	Unmarked	Marked
First Person	je /ʒə/	ø
Second Person	vous /vuz/	tu /ty/
Third Person	il /il/ (with morphological gender)	elle /ɛl/ (feminine singular)
	on /ɔn/ (without morphological gender)	

As is found elsewhere in Acadian, je is unmarked for number. The verbal ending distinguishes singular and plural, as in je fais [əʒ fe] "I make" versus je faisons [əʒ fezõ] "we make". ([əʒ] is the most common variant of /ʒə/ in Newfoundland French in the environment before a consonant). Only one instance of nous as a subject clitic occurs in the entire 1980 corpus. This occurred in response to the translation sentence "We go there." to which one La Grand'Terre informant responded [nuvalõ la], without liaison. It is obvious, then, that this is a learned form. The informant does not use it in informal

style.

As has also been noted earlier in this thesis, elles (feminine plural) is unattested in the 1980 corpus; il may be either singular or plural, number being usually marked in the verb, as in il fait [i fe] "he makes" versus il faisont [i fezõ] "they make". Ils, with the [z] pronounced in the environment before vowels, is unattested. This, as well, appears to be a common feature of Acadian.[1]

As can be seen in the table above, the Newfoundland French paradigm contains fewer clitics than does the Standard French paradigm. Distinctions not made in the Newfoundland French paradigm are expressed in the verb. The following sections of this chapter deal with phonological variation in the subject clitics, variation in the use of the tu-vous distinction, and variation in the use of subject clitics as opposed to strong pronouns.

Since for some variables to be discussed here, only small amounts of data are available, and often only in one style (e.g. tu-vous, use of ça and on), both comparison according to style and detailed analysis were impossible. On the other hand, large amounts of data attest phonological variation for je [ʒə]~[əʒ] and elle [ɛl]~[al]~[a]. However, a quantitative study of this variation was not undertaken for practical reasons. Given the large number of phonological and grammatical variables to be quantified, phonetic variation which seemed readily predictable was noted but not quantified. However, the subject clitic variable most widely reported and treated in the literature, /l/ deletion, is dealt with in detail.

5.2 Je

The following pattern has been noted in the realization of the subject clitic je:

je mange "I eat" [əʒ mɑ̃ʒ]~[ʒə mɑ̃ʒ]

j'allons "we go" [ʒalɔ̃]

[əʒ] seems to be more common than [ʒə] in the environment before a consonant. [ʒ] with schwa deletion (the same rule also applies to Standard French) occurs most often in the environment before a vowel. [h] is sometimes realized in this environment.

In free conversation, three young La Grand'Terre residents had variable je deletion in both formal and informal styles, as in the following examples:

Inft #68: (Je) la connais. "I know her." [la kɔnɛ]

Inft #62: (Je) m'a levé. "I got up." [ma lɛve]

Since /ʒ/ has several possible realizations in Newfoundland French (including [ʒ], [h], [ɣ], [ʃ], and zero), this should probably not be considered surprising. However, one young La Grand'Terre informant had a variant [ɛz] and another had a variant [l] of je:

Inft. #68: J'as fait manger nen a. [la fe mɑ̃ʒe nɑ̃na]
"I made myself eat some." S.F. Je me suis fait en manger.

Inft. #60: J'as levé right asteure. [ɛz a lɛve rait astœr]
"I got up right away." S.F. Je me suis levé tout de suite.

The [ɛz] variant is more easily explained. In this case [ʒ] is replaced

by the more stable segment [z], with compensatory changes in the vowel. The [l] variant is problematical since [l] is certainly an impossible phonetic variant of /ʒ/. It cannot be dismissed as a slip of the tongue since the informant, outside of the interview, also used this variant. It may be that some sort of analogy is being made with third person subject clitics with [l]. Another possibility is that [ʒə] has been deleted and that the former liaison element is now an initial consonant.[2]

Interestingly, informants #60 and #68 are members of an extended family who, in the words of another La Grand'Terre informant, "parlont tchorieux. Il avont un langage à ieusses-même." (They speak funny. They have a language all of their own."). Indeed this family is well known in the Port-au-Port Peninsula area for their distinctive way of speaking.[3] Although only two younger members consented to be interviewed (older members were approached as well), several striking features of this family's speech were noted. They are listed below:

1. The abovementioned variant [ɛz] exemplifies a general tendency against the realization of [ʒ]. Also noted in free conversation were pronunciations such as le gibier [lə lypje] 'game bird'. In this example the [ʒ] is deleted and the article may have been interpreted as part of the noun.

2. There is also a strong tendency towards non-standard voicing. For example, plosives appear to be devoiced word-initially if the medial or final consonant is voiceless, as in le bout [lə put] ('the end').[4] However, fricatives tend to be voiced intervocalically, as in il fait [i ve] ('he is making').

3. Word-initial non-vowel cluster reduction appears to be quite

frequent. For example, the strong pronoun lui may be pronounced [wi] or [vi].

4. Fricatives may also be replaced by glides intervocalically as in la maison [la mejõ] ('the house').

None of these features have been found elsewhere in Newfoundland French. Other phonological and grammatical features of these informants' speech will be discussed later in relation to other dependent variables. Possible explanations for this family's "deviant" linguistic behavior and of its possible effect upon the speech community will be discussed in 5.8.

With the exception of the data for informants #60 and #68 (members of what will be henceforth referred to as Family A), the patterning of je variation is as follows:

$$ʒə \rightarrow ʒ \;/\; \_\_\; V \text{ (categorical)}$$

$$ʒə \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} əʒ \\ ʒə \\ h \\ \text{zero} \end{Bmatrix} / \_\_\; C \text{ (variable)}$$

In the second rule, possible realizations are vertically displayed from most to least frequently.

5.3 Tu-vous

While vous is used regularly in Newfoundland French with reference to two or more people (vous-autres [vuzo t] is the corresponding strong pronoun) the use of a tu-vous distinction to indicate formality or lack of intimacy is variable.

Lambert and Tucker (1976) found that the use of tu-vous in French

is dependent upon a complex interaction of social variables including social class, role and status relationships, etc. Since this feature deserves a separate study of its own, it has not been investigated here. However, it has been noted that while several translation questions were designed to elicit vous (with singular reference), five younger informants (one from L'Anse-à-Canards, four from La Grand'Terre, of whom two are members of Family A) did not respond to these questions, saying that they never use vous with this meaning. One other young La Grand'Terre informant produced sentences such as Vous, lève-toi! indicating perhaps an inability to make this distinction. All other younger informants, however, and all older informants gave responses with vous singular. Thus, it may be that the least conservative speakers of Newfoundland French are losing the tu-vous distinction.

5.4 Ça with animate reference

Nyrop, in his Grammaire historique de la langue française, notes that the pronoun cela or ça, usually neuter, may be sometimes used with reference to human beings:

> Dans ce cas [en parlant des personnes] l'emploi de ça sert le plus souvent à indiquer du mépris ou l'indifférence. (Nyrop 1903:307)

However, Frei, in his La Grammaire des fautes, notes this usage as common to popular speech and offers the following explanation:

> Le français avancé cherche à éviter l'expression explicite du nombre là où un signe déjà caracterisé numériquement est repris par un représentant. (Frei 1929:151)

In Newfoundland French, the use of ça with animate reference appears to be widespread. However, all examples contained in the corpus

occurred in free conversation. A total of 49 tokens were recorded, distributed through both sexes, both age groups and four localities. The following are examples:

> I commençont vers onze heures, pis ça danse!
> "They start around eleven o'clock, and don't they dance!"

> Ca vient du Cap, sa femme.
> "She comes from the Cape, his wife."

> La deuxième génération, ça parle tout français.
> "The second generation all speak French."

In all but one token ça is followed by a third person singular verb. The exception is Ca parlont vite, ieusses. ("They speak quickly.") in which the verb agrees with the third person plural strong pronoun ieusses (S.F. eux).

5.5 On

On is used in Newfoundland French, not with the indefinite sense it has in Standard French, but to replace nous. This usage has also been noted by Laberge (1972) for Montréal French. Grafström's article "On remplaçant nous en français" gives the geographical distribution of the phenomenon:

> Quant aux patois et au français régional, on pour nous est attesté dans le centre et l'ouest de la France, ainsi qu'en Suisse, en Belgique, au Canada et en Louisiane. (Grafström 1969:294)

Grafström notes as well the history of this usage:

> Dès le moyen âge on remplace quelquefois les pronoms personnels sujet, mais son emploi plus ou moins constant au lieu de nous semble être récent dans la langue familière, un peu plus vieux en français populaire. (Grafström 1969:294)

In Newfoundland French, use of on is a conservative feature. Twenty-four tokens containing on occurred in free conversation. Only

older speakers used on; it is not attested for any of the younger speakers. Some examples taken from the corpus are given below:

On était jeunes filles ensemble.
"We were young girls together."

Si je les recontre, on parle français.
"If I meet them, we speak French."

Chez nous, on était quatorze.
"There were fourteen of us at home."

5.6 Third person /l/ deletion

5.6.0 Introduction. In 3.1 it was noted that variable deletion of the /l/ of third person subject clitics is a feature of North American French and of the français populaire of France widely reported in the literature. Historically, Bourciez (1967:191) reports deletion of the /l/ of il since the sixteenth century in français populaire. Deletion of the /l/ of both il and elle is noted in the Atlas Linguistique de la France, for which fieldwork was carried out between 1902 and 1910. /l/ deletion is also the subject of a synchronic socio-linguistic study, that of Cedergren and Sankoff for Montréal French (1971).

Generative phonologists, notably Yves-Charles Morin (1979), propose an optional rule whereby the /l/ of the subject clitic deletes in the environment before a consonant:

L Deletion (optional):

$l \rightarrow \emptyset$ / __ C (Morin 1979:3)

However, the sociolinguists Cedergren and Sankoff have shown in their Montréal French study that /l/ deletion is influenced not only by the phonological environment in which it occurs, but also by the pronouns'

semantic content and the social characteristics of speakers as well.

Earlier in this chapter it was noted that ils is pronounced [il] or [i] in Acadian, without the [z] of liaison. Only four examples of this sequence [iz] occur in the Newfoundland French corpus. In each case it is reasonably certain that the [z] is the reduced form of the object clitic les, as in the following example:

N.F. [izaplijõ dezẽdjɛ̃] S.F. Ils les appelaient des Indiens.
"They used to call them Indians."

Thus, il may be either singular or plural in Newfoundland French; the inflection /õ/ marks the plural of the verb. Il may be realized as [il], [i], or, in some cases, zero, while elle may be realized as [ɛl], [al], or [a]. As was mentioned previously, elles is unattested in the Newfoundland French corpus.

5.6.1 Linguistic conditioning. Cedergren and Sankoff's Montréal French study quantified /l/ deletion in three phonological environments: before a vowel, before a semi-vowel, and before a consonant.[5] However, since preliminary spectrographic analysis revealed variable lengthening of /l/ in sequences such as Il l'a dit ("He said it."), it was decided that /l/ deletion in the subject clitic when a following object clitic begins with an /l/ should be considered separately. The problems involved in establishing gemination or lack of gemination were outlined in 4.4. Therefore /l/ deletion in four phonological environments--before a vowel, before a semi-vowel, before an /l/, and before another consonant--were considered here. The results are summarized in Table 5.2 below and represented graphically in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.2

/l/ deletion rates according to phonological environment. V = vowel, S = semi-vowel, C = consonant, L = /l/.

Style	Environments							
	/__V		/__L		/__S		/__C	
More Formal	26.6%	186/699	31%	167/539	84.8%	162/191	86.3%	3057/3583
Less Formal	1.3%	27/2060	73.2%	82/112	91.7%	11/12	99.8%	3347/3355

A one-way ANOVA performed upon the data for more formal style revealed that phonological environment has a significant effect upon /l/ deletion ($df = 3$, $F = 96.087$, $p < .001$). ANOVA could not be performed upon the data for less formal style. Little data exists for the environments before /l/ and before semi-vowels; there was no data for 33 informants for the environment before /l/ and no data for 57 informants for the environment before a semi-vowel. Secondly, 53 informants had 0% /l/ deletion in the environment before a vowel and 100% /l/ deletion in the environment before a consonant. For these informants, the /l/ deletion rule applies categorically in less formal style. For the remaining 15 informants the rule is approaching categorality. The lowest frequency of /l/ deletion in the environment before a vowel was 83.3%. Excluding the young La Grand'Terre informants and one older Cap St.-Georges male who had somewhat higher rates of /l/ deletion in the environment before a vowel, the highest frequency of

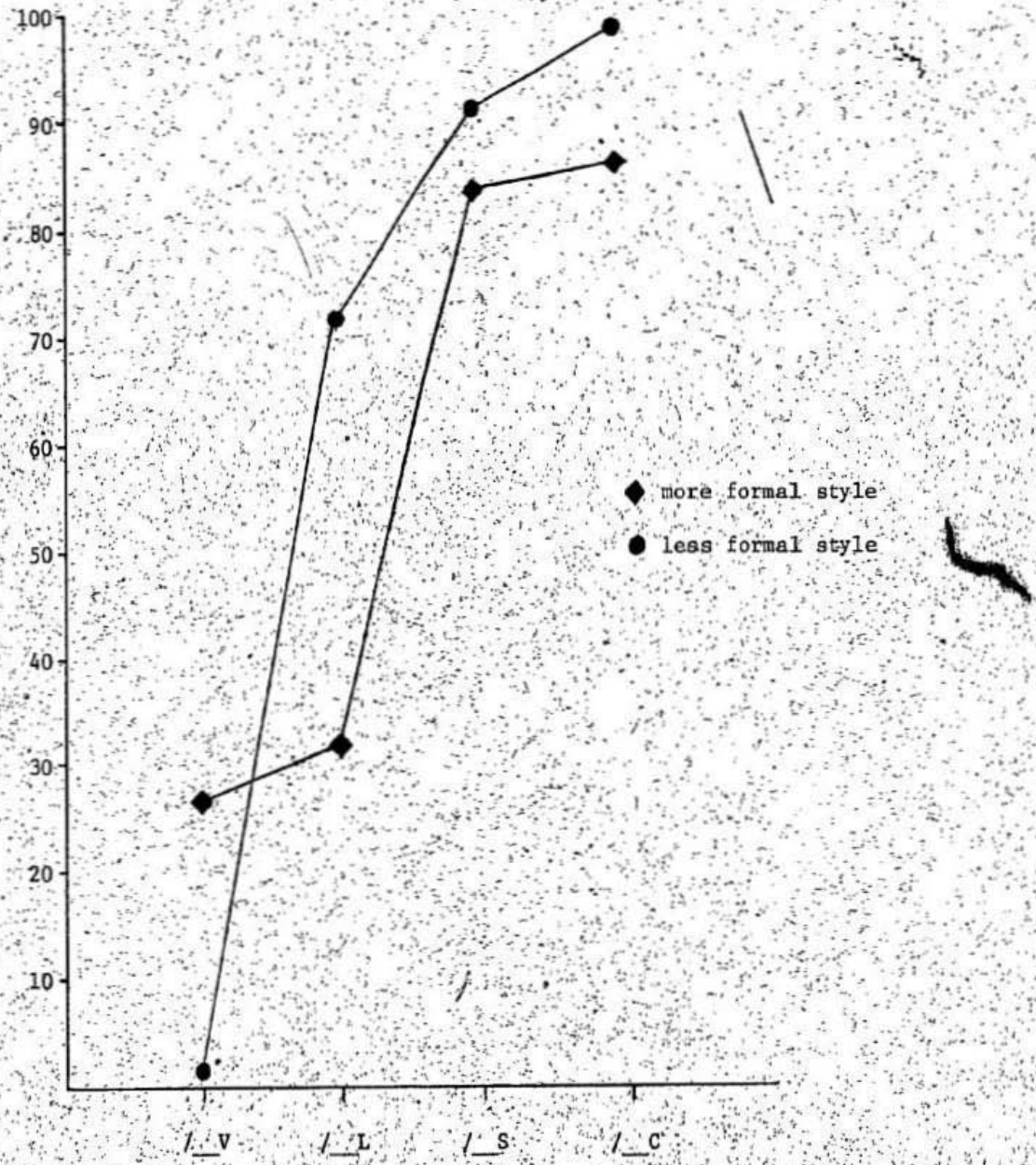


Figure 5.1

/l/ deletion rates according to phonological environment.

/1/ deletion recorded for this environment was 7%.

If we consider just the phonological environments before a consonant, a semi-vowel, and a vowel, our results parallel those of Cedergren and Sankoff for Montréal French, with /1/ deleting most readily in the environment before a consonant, somewhat less readily in the environment before a semi-vowel, and least readily in the environment before a vowel. Phonetically then, /1/ deletes most readily before contoids. Thus the more consonant-like the following segment, the greater the chance that /1/ will delete.

Considering the environment before /l/, we find that the /1/ of the subject clitic deletes less readily than before most other consonants but more readily than before vowels. However, on purely phonetic grounds, we would expect the deletion rates for the environment before /l/ to lie between those before semi-vowel and before a consonant. This, however, is not the case. In both styles, the environment before /l/ lies between the environment before a vowel and before a semi-vowel. It may be that the phonetic identity of /1/ before /l/ contributes to its relatively high deletion rate.

Existence of identical surface forms Il l'a dit [illadi] ~ [iladi] ("He said it.") and Il a dit [illadi] ~ [iladi] ("He said."), both with variable gemination, might lead one to assume that gemination here is purely phonetic and not a question of the deletion of the first /1/ of the sequence /ll/ at all. However, it is argued that these examples would differ in underlying form and would be generated as follows:

A. Il l'a dit		B. Il a dit	
/il + lə + a + di/		/il + a + di/	
illadi	Elision (categorical) (ə→zero /_V)	iladi	
iladi	L Deletion (variable)	illadi	Gemination (variable) (l→ll /V_V)

Thus Example A undergoes the categorical rule Elision. The variable rule L Deletion may then apply. In Example B, the variable rule L Gemination may apply.

Comparing deletion rates according to style, we find that in general deletion occurs most often in less formal style, as we would expect. Whereas in casual speech the presence of /l/ in a sequence such as Il dit. [il di] ("He says.") is quite unlikely, one finds in formal speech a certain tendency towards the maintenance of /l/ in this environment (86.3% deletion in more formal style as opposed to 99.8% deletion in less formal style).

However, the percentages of /l/ deletion in the environment before a vowel would appear an anomaly, since there is a higher percentage of /l/ deletion in more formal style than in less formal style. This is due to the fact that the structurally elicited data contain several tokens for each informant in which the subject clitic is followed by the third person singular indirect object lui "to him" or "to her". (This structure occurs much less often in free conversation.) This clitic usually occurs in the corpus in phonologically reduced form, [i]. Thus the environment for deletion of the /l/ of the subject clitic was coded for computerization purposes as before a following vowel. However,

subsequent analysis of the results of this study has led to the conclusion that given the sequence Il lui donne [i l i dɔn] "He gives him or her.", a double deletion rule has applied, whereby the /l/ of the subject and object clitics both delete, along with the semi-vowel of lui /lyi/.

In Example A above it was noted that the most common realizations of sequences such as Il l'a dit were with either geminated or ungeminated /l/. The surface realization [i a di], with double deletion, is of extremely low frequency. Such is the case when subject clitics containing /l/ are followed by direct object clitics le, la, and les. However, when the subject clitic is followed by an indirect object clitic (lui singular or leur plural) the situation is reversed. In these cases double deletion is most favored. The most common surface realization of Il lui donne ("He gives him or her.") is [i i dɔn]; the most common surface realization of Il leur donne ("He gives them.") is [i jø dɔn].[6] Lacking a phonological explanation of this phenomenon, we therefore propose that L Deletion is a morphologically conditioned rule, and, in the case of the sequence subject clitic followed by indirect object clitic, that double deletion occurs frequently.

Sankoff and Cedergren distinguish /l/ deletion in replacive and non-replacive subject clitics. Replacive clitics replace a noun, e.g. La fille danse. Elle danse bien. ("The girl is dancing. She dances well.") and Je vois le livre. Il est sur la table. ("I see the book. It's on the table."). On the other hand il may be used as an impersonal, non-replacive clitic in expressions such as Il pleut. and Il faut. ("It is raining" and "It's necessary."). Sankoff and Cedergren found

higher rates of deletion with impersonal il, which they attribute to "the different syntactic function of the two forms or the quantity of information transmitted--so that the personal il whose main function is to replace a noun, and which thus contains more information than the impersonal il, is less susceptible to /l/-deletion" (Sankoff & Cedergren 1971:67).

Table 5.3 below compares deletion rates for personal and impersonal clitics. It is seen that deletion occurs at a higher rate for impersonal il. If we consider separately just one environment, the one in which the subject clitic is followed by a consonant, and consider total deletion of the clitic itself (e.g. il → zero), as in Table 5.4 below, the comparison is more striking. Subject clitic deletion appears to be much more favored when the clitic is impersonal.

Table 5.3

/l/ deletion rates according to type of clitic

Style	Type of clitic			
	Personal Clitics		Impersonal il	
More Formal	72%	$\frac{3640}{5056}$	78.3%	$\frac{198}{253}$
Less Formal	62.2%	$\frac{3467}{5539}$	97.4%	$\frac{188}{193}$

Table 5.4

Clitic deletion rates according to type of clitic in the environment before a consonant.

Style	Type of clitic	
	Personal Clitics	Impersonal il
More Formal	4.6% 141/3054	30.9% 77/249
Less Formal	12.3% 359/2912	49% 95/193

5.6.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 give /l/ deletion rates according to sex, age, and locality in both styles. A significant age main effect ($df = 1$, $F = 4.322$, $p<.05$), as well as a significant age by sex interaction ($df = 1$, $F = 5.757$, $p<.05$) were found for more formal style.[7] Younger speakers delete /l/ less readily than do older speakers. Secondly, younger men delete /l/ less often than do females and older men.

Since only two informants, one a resident of L'Anse-à-Canards and the other a resident of Stephenville, are literate in French, /l/ retention in the environment before a consonant is somewhat of an anomaly. Younger speakers, who may have had a year or so of written French in high school, may be consciously trying to conform to a perceived prestige model, the French of school books. That this social patterning of the /l/ deletion rule only occurs in more formal style gives support to this hypothesis.

Since younger females delete /l/ at a rate more similar to older

Table 5.5

/l/ deletion rates according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50 years		+60 years		-50 years		+60 years	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	47.5%	177/373	74.7%	281/376	59.7%	219/367	56.6%	215/380
Cap St.-Georges	62.8%	235/374	84.7%	310/366	75.1%	269/358	77%	292/379
La Grand'Terre	66.8%	244/371	75.7%	228/301	84.4%	302/358	80.2%	239/298
Stephenville			69.3%	262/378			83%	313/377

Table 5.6

/l/ deletion rates according to age, sex, and locality. Less formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50 years		+60 years		-50 years		+60 years	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	66.9%	200/299	59.9%	333/556	62.4%	226/362	66.6%	491/737
Cap St.-Georges	63.5%	73/115	71.9%	280/390	67.8%	206/304	60.1%	433/720
La Grand'Terre	56.7%	119/210	57.2%	172/301	68.5%	248/362	67.3%	216/321
Stephenville			59.3%	308/519			47.2%	162/343

speakers, the results here would not seem to be a case of linguistic change in progress (which would be marked by younger speakers in general behaving in a linguistically different fashion from older speakers). However, Reid (1981), in his sociolinguistic study of Bay de Verde (Conception Bay, Newfoundland) English, found a similar patterning for certain variables, in that younger males tended to produce fewer non-standard variants than older males whereas younger females tended to produce more nonstandard variants than older females. Among the possible explanations for this patterning Reid puts forward, he hypothesizes that younger females "may be leading a move back to traditional [i.e. non-standard] values of these variables" (Reid 1981:55). It is possible, then, that younger females are at the vanguard of a positive change in attitude towards the variety of French spoken in western Newfoundland. If attitudes are changing, then young female speakers would be less likely to try to conform linguistically to a nonlocal speech model.

This social patterning does not occur in less formal style. As was noted earlier, here the /l/ deletion rule approaches categorality. It is noteworthy that of the twelve informants who deleted /l/ in the environment before a vowel, eight were young La Grand'Terre informants. The question of the lack of conservatism of this group will be discussed in 5.8.

5.7 Use of strong pronouns in the place of subject clitics

Table 5.7 below consists of paradigms of the Newfoundland French subject clitics and their corresponding strong pronouns.[8] Also given are the total number of occurrences of strong pronouns in the place of

each subject clitic, along with examples. This usage of strong pronouns is very limited in the 1980 corpus, which contains several thousand tokens with subject clitics.

Table 5.7

The use of strong pronouns instead of subject clitics in the Newfoundland French corpus.

Person	Subject Clitic	Strong Pronoun	No. of Occur.	Examples
1	je	moi	4	Moi rapelle pas. "I don't remember."
		nous-autres	17	Nous-autres savons les deux. "We knew both."
		moi et {lui / ièlle}		Moi et ièlle avons marché en bas. "We walked down there."
2	tu	toi	0	
	vous	vous-autres	1	Vous-autres pouviez apprendre arien. "You couldn't learn anything."
3	il	lui	11	Lui contait des contes. "He told stories."
		ieusses	20	Ieusses parliont plus anglais que nous-autres. "They spoke more English than we did."
	elle	ièlle	11	Ièlle est Française. "She's French."
		Total	54	

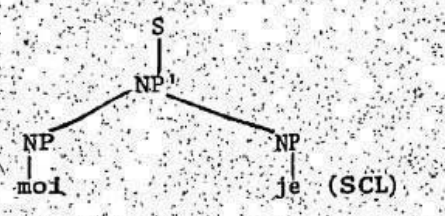
With the exception of two tokens from Informant #68 (a Family A member) all strong pronouns replacing subject clitics occurred in free

conversation. The tendency, then, is limited generally to one style.

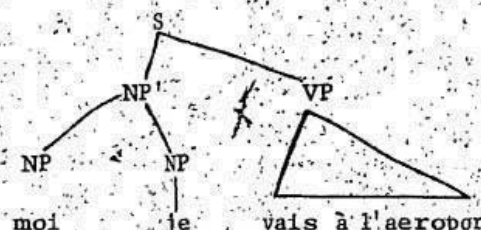
It is worth noting, however, that young La Grand'Terre speakers, who comprise only 14.7% of the sample or ten of sixty-eight informants, were responsible for 44.3% or twenty-five out of fifty-four strong pronouns in subject clitic position. La Grand'Terre as a whole (i.e. eighteen out of sixty-eight informants) had 63% or thirty-four out of fifty-four occurrences. If we consider only the first and second persons, the percentages are much higher--nineteen out of twenty-four occurrences for young La Grand'Terre (79.2%) and twenty-two out of twenty-four occurrences for La Grand'Terre as a whole (91.7%). The remaining tokens were distributed throughout the sample.

Therefore, for this feature, La Grand'Terre informants in general are less conservative than other informants and younger La Grand'Terre informants are least conservative. Informants from all communities, especially La Grand'Terre, had strong pronouns replacing third person subject clitics. If there is a change in progress, then, in the direction of the use of strong pronoun forms in subject clitic position, it is hypothesized that change began with the third person forms and is spreading to the first and second persons, and that younger La Grand'Terre informants are at the vanguard of that change.

Kayne (1972) proposes that all noun phrases are introduced in the base along with a subject clitic in the following manner:



In the case of a sentence such as Je vais à l'aeroport. ("I am going to the airport."), a rule of Strong Pro Deletion applies to the underlying structure



resulting in the surface structure Je vais à l'aéroport. In the case of a sentence such as Cela est vrai. ("It's true.") a rule of Subject Clitic Deletion applies. Kayne argues that, in order for unacceptable sentences such as *Moi vais à l'aéroport. to be blocked, Strong Pro Deletion must be ordered before Subject Clitic Deletion.

Sentences such as Moi vais à l'aeroport might be acceptable to young La Grand'Terre, but it is doubtful that they would be acceptable to the speech community as a whole. It would probably be understood, but considered another example of the "bad French" spoken by younger people. It may be argued that, for young La Grand'Terre speakers, strict ordering of the two rules Subject Clitic Deletion and Strong Pro Deletion is giving way to variability in rule application.

5.8 Conclusions

To attempt detailed treatment of each of the dependent variables concerning clitic pronouns would be unrealistic. However, one of the subject variables of this chapter, L Deletion, did lend itself to a detailed analysis, given the large amount of data available, the theoretically interesting question of interaction of subject and object

cliticization, and the possibility for comparison with Sankoff and Cedergren's similar study.

Phonological conditioning of the L Deletion rule is apparent. And while the rule approaches categorality in less formal style, both age and sex condition its application in more formal style.

The relative advancement of La Grand'Terre has been noted for several of the variables discussed in this chapter. The reasons for this tendency are not readily apparent. La Grand'Terre is much smaller than Stephenville and even Cap St.-Georges, and just a little bigger than L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver. Both La Grand'Terre and L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver are still relatively isolated. Ten miles of gravel road separates La Grand'Terre from the larger English settlement, Lourdes, while five miles of similarly poor road separate L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver from Lourdes. One would expect that in La Grand'Terre and in L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, where there is less contact with English than in Cap St.-Georges or Stephenville, that the French spoken would be more conservative. This might be the case with L'Anse-à-Canards, but it is certainly not so with La Grand'Terre.

Whereas the author has never actually lived in La Grand'Terre, extended periods have been spent in L'Anse-à-Canards; "houseparties" are the norm. La Grand'Terre residents, on the other hand, tend to look outside the community for entertainment. However, the hypothesis, based on personal impressions, that La Grand'Terre is to some extent a less unified, cohesive community than L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, is tenuous. Matthews' (1976) account of the reaction of La Grand'Terre residents to attempted resettlement of the community would seem to

indicate the opposite; in what is perhaps overstatement, Matthews concludes that, at the time of his research in the early 1970s, "the traditional pattern of co-operation and mutual help was so strong that Grande Terre [sic] operated more like a commune than a community" (Matthews 1976:119). A detailed ethnography of present-day life in La Grand'Terre would certainly prove revealing.

Looking at the less conservative members of the La Grand'Terre sample, the younger members, there is little which separates them from their L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver counterparts. The ten young La Grand'Terre informants have all had at least six years of schooling, but none have finished high school. At least two-thirds of their education took place in Lourdes.[9] All ten are fluent English speakers, but this is also the case for young L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver and Cap St.-Georges speakers as well.

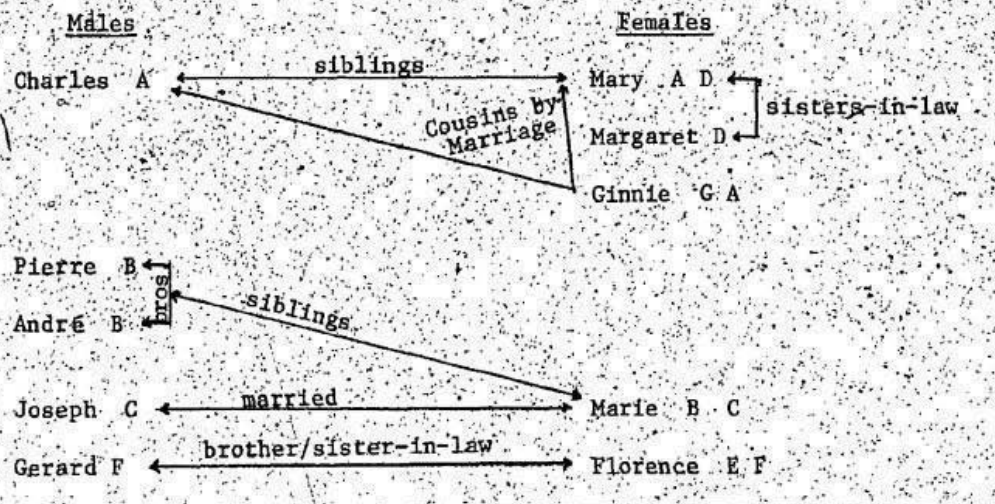
The family life of the La Grand'Terre informants is comparable with that of all the other young informants. Seven of the ten have French spouses. One informant, aged 37 at the time of fieldwork, is unmarried and lives with her French-speaking parents. Two of the informants have spouses who do not speak French. The children of five informants speak French. All ten informants reported that they speak French every day. It must be concluded then, that the La Grand'Terre informants speak French regularly, and that most of them do so within the home.

Seven La Grand'Terre families are represented in the young La Grand'Terre sample, including Family A. In order that informants' identities remain anonymous, other family names will be replaced here

by the letters B to G. The makeup of the group and the relationships between members is given in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8

Family relationships among young La Grand'Terre informants. Women's married initial follows maiden initial.



Interrelationships among young La Grand'Terre informants are complex, but no more so than in the other communities. Certainly association of members is based to a certain extent upon kinship patterns. All that separates, on the surface at least, young La Grand'Terre speakers from their L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver counterparts, and indeed La Grand'Terre from L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, is the presence of extended Family A.

While Family A's striking linguistic deviancy--loss of [ʒ], non-standard voicing, etc.--is obvious, it is very difficult to explain. When Family A French was discussed during interviews, informants'

explanations varied. One young informant suggested that the original Family A settler in La Grand'Terre had had a speech impediment. A strong-willed man, he supposedly forced his children to talk like him. One informant said that although the original Family A settler was French, he was not French from France. Therefore, the peculiarities of his speech were representative of another variety of French. Another informant said he was of Scottish origin. Two informants, both near eighty, said the original Family A settler was not French, but was an English Newfoundlander who had settled in the close to 100% French community of his day. Native speaker explanations, then, would point to Family A ethnic origins as different from those of other members of the community.

Interestingly, in the book Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland (1977), Seary notes that while some of the west coast Newfoundlanders with the Family A surname are believed to be of French origin, he has found no evidence to support this claim. It may be, then, that French was the second language of the original Family A settler. Since second language learners are inclined to use the sounds of their first language when speaking their second, this is a possible explanation for the lack of distinctive voicing in Family A French. In French, voicing distinguishes plosives, whereas in English aspiration is also very important. Hyman (1975) has noted that voicing is becoming less important in English:

> . . . the vowel-length difference in such pairs as bat : bad is much more important perceptually than any voicing contrast which may be present in the final C. It is also relevant here to note that the initial contrast in the minimal pair pat : bat has

> been shown to be, perceptually, one of aspirated vs. unaspirated, rather than voiceless vs. voiced. It appears that English is in the process of losing voice contrast in consonants (note the loss of the /t/-/d/ contrast in most intervocalic positions): the final contrast is being replaced with a length contrast and the initial contrast is being replaced with an aspiration contrast. (Hyman 1975:173)

However, although this is true of twentieth century American English, it may not have been true, or at least to the same extent, of British English of a century ago.

The lack of the segment [ʒ] in Family A French may be related to imperfect learning of French. The /ʒ/ phoneme has variable realizations in North American French in general; it is also extremely restricted phonotactically in English. This might account for its lack of occurrence in Family A French. Similarly, much of Family A's grammatical "advancement" might be interpreted as imperfect learning of French grammar.

However, it hardly seems plausible that problems in second-language acquisition three generations past could still affect the French of the present-day members of the family. The original Family A settler died many years ago; he is not remembered by his grandchildren. The hypothesis that he had some sort of speech defect would also be difficult to prove. Certainly some of the phonological processes of Family A speech may be related to those of deaf people (e.g. devoicing of initial consonants when there is a voiceless medial or final consonant). However, to establish evidence for some kind of congenital hearing problem would require testing by experts in the field.

It would be almost as difficult to establish the influence, if any, of Family A French upon the French of the community as a whole. It

is interesting that while young La Grand'Terre speakers share Family A's grammatical advancement, they do not share the particular phonological characteristics of their speech. Equally interesting is the fact that informants who would readily volunteer that Family A members spoke "funny", when asked if another young La Grand'Terre resident, whose speech was similar grammatically, also talked "funny", replied that no, he is hard to understand because he talks fast. Thus "advanced" variants of the grammatical variables were interpreted as rapid speech while a very different phonological system was perceived as funny.

While La Grand'Terre linguistic advancement raises questions concerning language acquisition, speech and hearing problems, and perhaps most importantly, social networks, a separate, in-depth socio-linguistic/ethnographic study of the community would be necessary before definite explanations could be put forward.

Notes

1. See Gesner (1979:119) for Nova Scotia Acadian. Sankoff and Cedergren (1971) found elles to be of very low frequency in their Montréal French corpus; ils occurred instead. Ameringen and Cedergren (1981:142), again reporting on the Sankoff-Cedergren corpus, note that "en français populaire de Montréal la liaison de ils avec une voyelle suivante n'existe pratiquement pas". Since it was not until the seventeenth century that a [z] of liaison was imposed upon the French of France (the earlier pronunciation being [l]), Yves-Charles Morin has suggested that liaison with ils has never existed in Québécois (Ameringen and Cedergren 1981:148). It seems logical, then, that this liaison has never existed in Maritime Acadian either.

2. See Morin (1982).

3. Answers given to the question "Does everyone in your community speak the same type of French?" showed that L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver is perceived as being quite homogeneous and Cap St.-Georges relatively so, while La Grand'Terre is viewed as having different types of French. Only two La Grand'Terre informants answered 'yes' to the above question; both were Family A members. Most others cited Family A members, and in some cases the younger generation, as being deviant.

As for the question "Where is the 'best' French spoken around here?", the results are as follows:

L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver	20
Cap St.-Georges	14
All the same	13
La Grand'Terre	8
Stephenville	2
No response	11
	68

4. Final consonants in words such as bout are pronounced in Acadian.

5. Sankoff and Cedergren deal with /l/ deletion in direct object clitics le, la, and les and definite articles le, la, and les as well. Since deletion of the /l/ of direct object clitics is so rare in Newfoundland French, it is not treated here, except in the case of double deletion in the sequence subject clitic + object clitic. Naturally deletion in definite articles is beyond the scope of this thesis.

6. The status of the variant [jø] is problematical. Several hypotheses will be outlined in 6.4.

7. Since there are no younger Stephenville informants, the Stephenville results were omitted from the ANOVAs which involved nonlinguistic variables.

8. Morin (1982:17-18) notes that while "lui et eux peuvent être sujet, ce n'est pas le cas des pronoms moi et toi . . . de telles formes [lui et eux comme sujets] s'observent dans la plupart des variétés du français que nous avons observées, en particulier dans la région

parisienne et à Montréal; dans ces constructions, le sujet est en général contrastif ou emphatique".

9. In La Grand'Terre there is a small school for Grades Kindergarten to Two. Older La Grand'Terre children, and all L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver children, are bused to Lourdes.

CHAPTER VI

PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE OBJECT CLITICS

6.1 Introduction

The object clitics of Newfoundland French are presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 below.

Table 6.1

The first and second person object clitics of Newfoundland French. Underlying representations are given within slashes.

		Object Clitic	
Singular	First Person	me	/mə/
	Second Person	te	/tə/
Plural	First Person	nous	/nuz/
	Second Person	vous	/vuz/

Table 6.2

The third person object clitics of Newfoundland French. Underlying representations are given within slashes.

		Direct Object		Indirect Object	
Singular	Masculine	le	/lə/	lui	/lyi/
	Feminine	la	/la/		
Plural		les	/lez/	leur	/lœr/
Reflexive		se	/sə/		

The underlying forms of the object clitics of Newfoundland French are identical to those given in section 3.1 for Standard French. This is not to say, however, that Newfoundland French shares identical phonological realizations of these clitics with Standard French. The phonological rules by which nous and vous lose their final segment before consonants and me and te lose their final segment before vowels (Rules 1 and 2 given in 3.1) are common to all varieties of French. There is, however, variation in the surface forms of third person object clitics in Newfoundland French. For example, lui may be realized [lɥi] or [i]; leur may be realized [lœr], [lœrz], [jøz], or [jø]. Phonological variation in object clitic pronouns is treated in 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4 of this chapter.

Secondly, not all of the grammatical contrasts presented in Table 6.1 are to be found in the speech of all or even most of the informants. For example, some informants are losing, and in some cases have lost, the accusative-dative distinction in the third person. Others appear to be losing third person number distinctions. In fact, it is most common for the le-les distinction to be lost in affirmative-imperative constructions. The object clitics are also subject to a great deal of syntactic variability, of which the Standard French pattern is one variant. Grammatical variation, however, will be described in Chapter VII while the analysis of cliticization in general in Newfoundland French will be left for Chapter VIII.

The present chapter will deal with phonological variation of nous ([nu]~[n]), lui, and leur, given in Table 6.1 and 6.2, and of the clitic en as well. Since the alternations [mə]~[m], [tə]~[t], [sə]~[s],

[nuz]~[nu], [lə]~[l], [la]~[l], and [lez]~[le] are readily predictable, they have not been quantified.

6.2 Nous

Nous is most often realized [nuz] or [nu] in the 1980 corpus. However, in the speech of three young female residents of La Grand'Terre, a third variant, [n] was attested, as in the following example:

I n'a donné de l'argent [inadɔne də lɑrʒɑ̃]

"He gave us some money."

We are unaware of any mention of this variant in the literature for North American French or Metropolitan varieties. Valdman (1971), however, cites [n] as a variant of nous in Haitian Creole. Even though use of the [n] variant appears to be quite limited in Newfoundland French, its usage is interesting since it occurs in the speech of informants seen elsewhere to be nonconservative. It is hypothesized that the [n] variant is an innovative feature. More widespread usage of the [n] variant would probably have serious repercussions for the object clitic system since another clitic, en, has a widely attested variant [n]. The negative particle ne, though rare, is also attested for Newfoundland French. If both en [n] and nous [n] came to be widely used, there would be some ambiguity of reference.

6.3 En

6.3.0 Introduction. Variants [ɑ̃], [nɑ̃], and [zɑ̃] of the object clitic en are attested in the 1980 corpus. [ɑ̃] is the Standard French variant, [nɑ̃] and [zɑ̃] occur in the français populaire of France

and North America. Each of these variants may have denasalized equivalents in Newfoundland French. Another variant of en in Newfoundland French is [n], which is also attested for Acadian.[1]

6.3.1 Linguistic conditioning. Both the phonological and syntactic environments in which en occurs have been found to influence its realization. It had been noted in a preliminary survey that the presence of a following vowel or consonant seemed to influence the realization of en, as did the occurrence of en in faire-infinitive constructions. Here, then, both the preceding and following phonological environments have been considered. Since there appeared to be at least some syntactic conditioning of the variable, en realization was quantified in several syntactic constructions, including the indicative, interrogative with inversion, affirmative imperative, futur proche and faire-infinitive. The results for the indicative construction are given in Table 6.3, below which the variants are ranked per phonological environment in Table 6.4.[2]

In the environments V__V, [n] occurs most often (39.4% of occurrences). This is also the case for the environment C__V (31.3% of occurrences). The variant [n] is generally preferred before vowels.

However, when the following segment is a consonant, one finds the opposite tendency. All of the variants ending in a vowel occur more frequently before following consonants. For the environments V__C and C__C, [n] is the least preferred variant. In the environment V__C, [nɑ̃] is the preferred variant. In the environment C__C, [ɑ̃] is the preferred variant at 58.5% of occurrences followed by its denasalized equivalent at 21.1%. In all of these cases the surface structure produced is one

Table 6.3

Realizations of en in the indicative construction. More formal style.

Realizations of en	Phonological Environments								Total	
	C__C		V__C		C__V		V__V			
[ɑ̃]	58.5%	83/142	33.2%	132/398	23.4%	15/64	28.6%	120/419	34.2%	350/1023
[nɑ̃]	13.9%	19/142	41.9%	167/398	12.5%	8/64	21.5%	90/419	27.8%	284/1023
[n]	1.4%	2/142	0.25%	1/398	31.3%	20/64	39.4%	165/419	18.4%	188/1023
[zɑ̃]	3.5%	5/142	5.3%	21/398	25%	16/64	6.9%	29/419	6.9%	71/1023
[ɑ]	21.1%	30/142	17.6%	70/398	1.7%	1/64	0.48%	2/419	10%	103/1023
[nɑ]	2.1%	3/142	1.8%	7/398	6.3%	4/64	3.1%	13/419	2.6%	27/1023
[zɑ]	0%	0/142	0%	0/398	0%	0/64	0%	0/419	0%	0/1023

Table 6.4

Rank ordering of the variants of /ã/ per phonological environment. More formal style.

Phonological Environments			
C__C	V__C	C__V	V__V
[ã]	[nã]	[n]	[n]
[ɑ]	[ã]	[zã]	[ã]
[nã]	[ɑ]	[ã]	[nã]
[zã]	[zã]	[nã]	[zã]
[nɑ]	[nɑ]	[nɑ]	[nɑ]
[n]	[n]	[ɑ]	[ɑ]

in which consonants and vowels alternate in the string of segments. Since the ranking of variants is very similar in the environments before consonants and is also very similar in the environments before vowels, it would appear that the nature of the following segment is more important than the nature of the preceding segment. Figure 6.1 is a graphic representation of these results.

Of the denasalized variants, [ɑ] occurs more often than [nɑ]; however, only in the environment before a consonant does even [ɑ] occur in fairly high frequency (21.1% in the environment C__C and 17.6% in the environment V__C). In the environment before a vowel, variants ending with nasalized V behave more like consonant final variants than variants ending in oral V. From a phonetic point of view, denasalization would

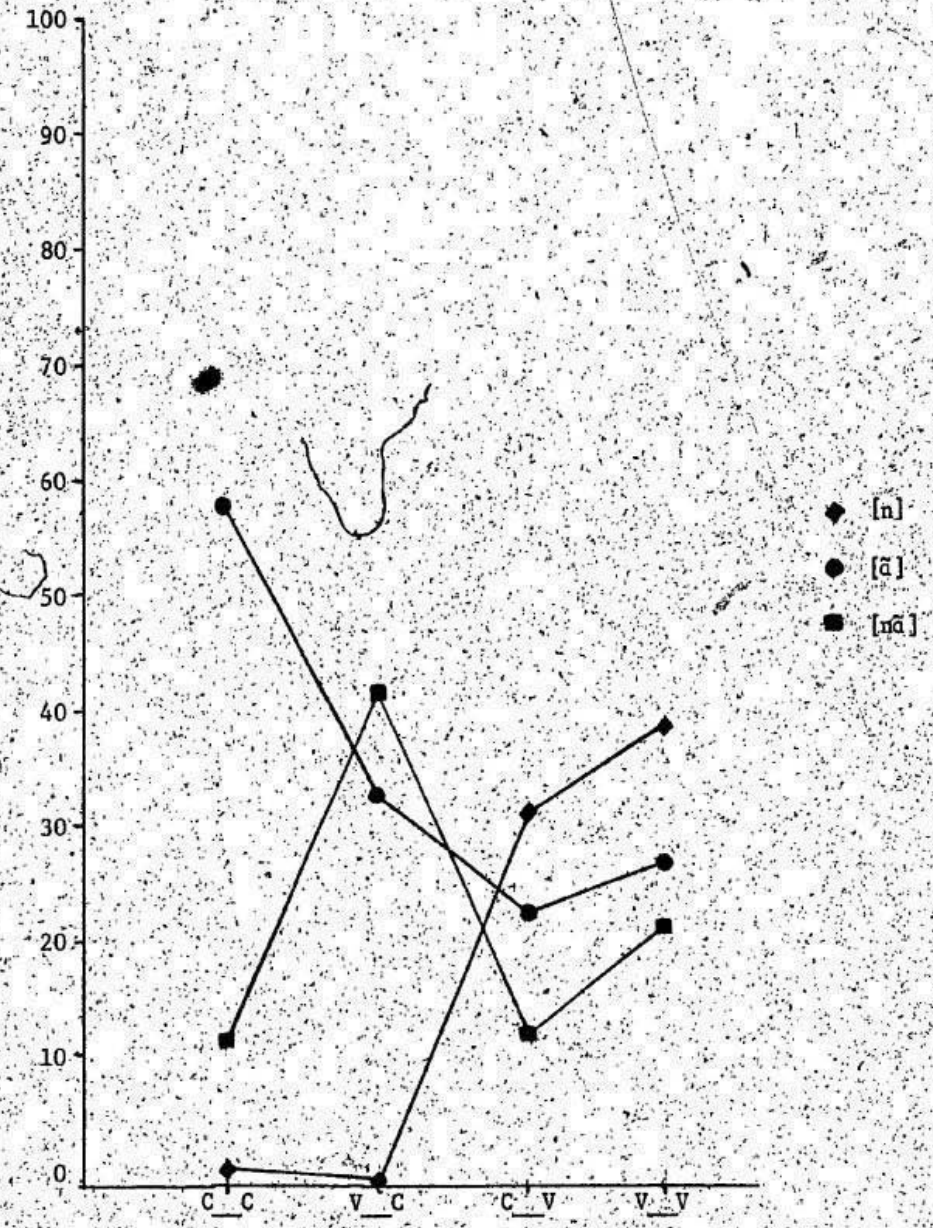


Figure 6.1

Percentage of occurrence of variants [n], [ã], and [nã] according to phonological environment in the indicative construction. More formal style.

be expected to occur more readily before non-nasal consonants.

Some examples of realizations of en in the corpus are given below:

[i navõ done a nuzo·t] "They gave some to us."

[i nɑ̃ mɑ̃ʒ] "He eats some."

[jɑ̃na] "There are some."

[il ɑ̃ don a jøs] "He gives them some."

In Table 6.5 below, the results are given for the same grammatical construction, the indicative, in free conversation. In free conversation, one finds the same rank ordering of variants [ɑ̃], [nɑ̃], and [n] overall, but the percentage of occurrence of [ɑ̃] is much higher (80.7% overall as opposed to 34.2% overall in more formal style). At first glance this is confusing since the Standard French variant occurs much more often in less formal style. However, it must be noted that in the free conversation the structure Il y en a occurred very often--330 times. Although the form [inɑ̃na] occurs fairly frequently, the preferred form by far is [jɑ̃na]. Therefore the high percentage of the [ɑ̃] variant in less formal style may be attributed to the high frequency of occurrence in Il y en a.

The results for the interrogative construction with inversion are given in Table 6.6.

When en occurs sentence-initially, [nɑ̃] is the preferred variant in the environment before a consonant (as in [nɑ̃ mɑ̃ze vu]; "Do you eat some?"). It has been seen above that in the indicative, [nɑ̃] is the most preferred variant in the phonological environment V__C.

However, in the environment __V, [n] is the preferred variant,

Table 6.5

Realizations of en in the indicative construction. Less formal style.

En realizations	Environments								Total	
	C__C		V__C		C__V		V__V			
[ã]	94.3%	33/35	17.2%	5/29	88.9%	40/45	83.3%	310/372	80.7%	388/481
[nã]	2.9%	1/35	75.9%	22/29	6.7%	3/45	7%	26/372	10.8%	52/481
[n]	–		–		4.4%	2/45	9.7%	36/372	7.9%	38/481
[zã]	–		–		–		–		–	
[a]	2.9%	1/35	3.5%	1/29	–		–		.42%	2/481
[na]	–		3.5%	1/29	–		–		.21%	1/481
[za]	–		–		–		–		–	

Table 6.6

Realizations of en in the interrogative construction. More formal style.

En realizations	Environments		Total
	C	V	
[ɑ̃]	20% 9/45	32.7% 18/55	27% 27/100
[nɑ̃]	80% 36/45	10.9% 6/55	42% 42/100
[n]	-	56.4% 31/55	31% 31/100
[zɑ̃]	-	-	-
[ɑ]	-	-	-
[nɑ]	-	-	-
[zɑ]	-	-	-

(as in [nave vu mɑ̃ʒe] "Did you eat some?"), followed by [ɑ̃]. The former results in the structure CV; the latter in VCV, as in [ɑ̃n ave vu mɑ̃ʒe] ("Did you eat some?").

The results for the affirmative imperative construction are given in Table 6.7. In this construction, [zɑ̃] is the preferred variant in the environment C__ (e.g. [dɔn zɑ̃ a nuzo·t] "Give us some."). Since only nine tokens occurred for the environment V__, comparison of the results according to environments would not be revealing. Overall, [zɑ̃] is used in 67.3% of tokens for this syntactic environment. The use of [zɑ̃] in the example above is Standard French. Its usage in two-clitic

Table 6.7

Realizations of en in the affirmative imperative construction. More formal style.

Realizations of en	Environments				Total	
	C__		V__			
[ɑ̃]	25.3%	41/162	22.2%	2/9	25.2%	43/171
[nɑ̃]	3.1%	5/162	11.1%	1/9	3.5%	6/171
[n]						
[zɑ̃]	69.1%	112/162	33.3%	3/9	67.3%	115/171
[ɑ]	.6%	1/162	22.2%	2/9	1.8%	3/171
[nɑ]	-		11.1%	1/9	.59%	1/171
[zɑ]						
[sʌm]	1.9%	3/162	-		1.8%	3/171

constructions such as Donne-moi-z-en is not standard, but is widespread in popular French.

Table 6.8 summarizes the results for the futur proche construction.[3] In translations of sentences such as "He is going to give us some," [ɑ̃] and its denasalized equivalent were preferred. Together they comprise 61.6% of occurrences. The variant [nɑ̃] accounts for another 26.9%.

Finally, the results for the faire-infinitive construction are

Table 6.8

Realizations of en in the futur proche.
More formal style.

Realizations of en	Environment V_C	
[ɑ̃]	36.7%	153/417
[nɑ̃]	26.9%	112/417
[n]	2.9%	12/417
[zɑ̃]	5.5%	23/417
[ɑ]	24.9%	104/417
[nɑ]	2.6%	11/417
[zɑ]	.48%	2/417

given in Table 6.9. In this second two-verb construction, [nɑ̃] is the preferred variant. Whereas in Standard French clitics always attach to the upper verb, faire, en usually attaches to the lower verb in Newfoundland French, as in [im fe nɑ̃ maʒe] (S.F. Il m'en fait manger.; "He makes me eat some".). It will be seen later that least conservative clitic usage occurs in the faire-infinitive construction; the occurrences of the variant [zɑ̃] documented here are found in such translations as [im fe maʒe zɑ̃] where [zɑ̃] follows the second verb. The question of whether or not [zɑ̃] is indeed a clitic in such sentences will be

Table 6.9

Realizations of en in the faire-infinitive.
More formal style.

Realizations of en	Environment V__C
[ɑ̃]	21.6% 37/171
[nɑ̃]	55.6% 95/171
[n]	.59% 1/171
[zɑ̃]	17.5% 30/171
[ɑ]	- -
[nɑ]	2.3% 4/171
[zɑ]	- -
[sʌm]	2.3% 4/171

discussed in section 7.2 of the following chapter. Finally, one informant had a variant [sʌm], which seems to stem from a confusion of the variant [zɑ̃] with its English gloss 'some' [sʌm].

We may conclude, then, that the phonological environment in which en occurs influences its realization. In environments before a vowel, [n] is the preferred variant:

[na ty nɑ̃ze] S.F. En as-tu mangé? "Did you eat some?"

[a na done a pjɛr] S.F. Elle en a donné à Pierre.

"She gave some to Pierre."

Before a consonant, variants [ɑ̃] and [nɑ̃] are preferred:

[i nɑ̃ mɑ̃ʒ] S.F. Il en mange. "He eats some."

[ʒɑ̃ mɑ̃ʒ] S.F. J'en mange. "I eat some."

However, in the environment C__C, [ɑ̃] or [ɑ] is preferred over [nɑ̃]. Denasalized variants occur most readily before non-nasal consonants, as one would expect.

Table 6.10 is a summary table of the results according to grammatical construction.

Table 6.10

Realizations of en according to grammatical construction. More formal style.

Realizations of en	Grammatical Construction				
	Affirmative Indicative	Imperative	Futur Proche	Interrogative	Faire-Infinitive
[ɑ̃]	34.2%	25.2%	36.7%	27%	21.6%
[nɑ̃]	27.8%	3.5%	26.9%	42%	55.6%
[n]	18.4%	-	2.9%	31%	.59%
[zɑ̃]	6.9%	67.3%	5.5%	-	17.5%
[ɑ]	10%	1.8%	24.9%	-	-
[nɑ]	2.6%	.59%	2.6%	-	2.3%
[zɑ]	-	-	.48%	-	-
[sʌm]	-	1.8%	-	-	2.3%

Only in the affirmative imperative construction is [zɑ̃] the preferred variant. The percentage of [n ɑ̃] realization is highest in the interrogative construction and in the faire-infinitive construction. Grammatical conditioning of the en variable does not seem, however, to be as important as phonological conditioning.

Unfortunately, for the constructions futur proche, faire-infinitive, affirmative imperative, and interrogative (with inversion), there were insufficient data for more formal and less formal styles to be compared. There occurred no instances of en in the faire-infinitive or affirmative-imperative constructions in free conversation, and only one and five instances for the interrogative and futur proche constructions respectively. Even when there were enough data to compare styles, there are usually not enough to compare all environments, as is seen in section 5.6 on /l/ deletion. The problem is even greater in dealing with grammatical variation, as will be seen in Chapter VII.

6.3.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning. In Table 6.11, the distribution of the variant [ɑ̃] is given according to age, sex, and locality. It is apparent that use of the [ɑ̃] variant is conservative. Older speakers have much higher percentages of the [ɑ̃] variant. This table does not include data for the use of en as a single clitic in the affirmative imperative construction, where [zɑ̃] is the Standard French variant. When the relative frequencies of [zɑ̃] for this construction are added to the results given above, the distribution is unchanged. A three-way analysis of variance performed on these results (relative frequency of use of the variant [zɑ̃] in single-clitic affirmative

Table 6.11.

Distribution of the [ã] variant according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	19%	28/147	47%	81/172	25.6%	40/156	47%	83/176
Cap St.-Georges	22%	26/117	44%	75/169	17.7%	27/152	46.8%	74/158
La Grand'Terre	8.5%	13/153	60%	61/109	7%	8/113	43.3%	58/134
Stephenville			54%	92/170			54.3%	82/151

imperative constructions and [ã] elsewhere) shows a significant age main effect (df = 1, F = 63.522, p > .001).

In Table 6.12, distribution of variants [nã], [zã], and [n] according to social variables is given (the denominator for each cell is as in Table 6.11). It is difficult to see any clear influence of non-linguistic variables in the table below. However, three younger groups have much higher percentages of the variant [n] than do other groups, while four younger groups have higher percentages of the variant [zã]. These are circled in the table. However, age differences are not as obvious here as in more formal style.

The distribution of the denasalized variants are given in Table 6.13.

Table 6.12

Distribution of variants [nã], [zã], and [n] according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d' Hiver	[nã]	25%	[nã]	25%	[nã]	20%	[nã]	25%
	[n]	9.5%	[n]	11%	[n]	15.4%	[n]	8%
	[zã]	36.9%	[zã]	9.9%	[zã]	21.2%	[zã]	12.5%
Cap St.-Georges	[nã]	15.4%	[nã]	19.5%	[nã]	28.3%	[nã]	29.6%
	[n]	24.8%	[n]	14.2%	[n]	11.2%	[n]	10.8%
	[zã]	8.6%	[zã]	5.3%	[zã]	19.7%	[zã]	6.7%
La Grand'Terre	[nã]	32.7%	[nã]	16.2%	[nã]	23.9%	[nã]	22.4%
	[n]	26.8%	[n]	0%	[n]	27.4%	[n]	19.4%
	[zã]	11.1%	[zã]	6.4%	[zã]	21.2%	[zã]	6.7%
Stephenville			[nã]	29.4%			[nã]	24.5%
			[n]	3.5%			[n]	6%
			[zã]	12.4%			[zã]	6.6%

Table 6.13

Percentage of denasalization according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	6.2%	10/133	7.2%	11/152	20.6%	27/131	8%	13/162
Cap St.-Georges	38.6%	34/88	16.4%	23/140	25.7%	35/136	11.4%	16/141
La Grand'Terre	25.9%	28/108	21.1%	23/109	26.1%	23/88	9.5%	10/105
Stephenville			.6%	1/164			9.2%	13/142

With the exception of the young male L'Anse-à-Canards cell, younger speakers in general have higher rates of denasalization. A significant age main effect ($df = 1$, $F = 13.383$, $p > .001$) also emerged here when a three-way analysis of variance was performed.

The distribution of *en* variants in less formal style according to age, sex, and geography is given in Table 6.14. However, these results, like those of Table 6.5, are skewed due to the high rate of occurrence of the expression *il y en a* in the free conversation.

To conclude, then, the age variable influences the realization of *en*. The Standard French variants occur more often in the speech of older informants; with some exceptions, younger speakers have higher rates of [nɑ̃] and [zɑ̃]. Younger informants, with the exception of young L'Anse-à-Canards males, have higher percentages of denasalized variants

Table 6.14

Realizations of en according to age, sex, and locality. Less formal style.

Locality	Male						Female					
	-50			60+			-50			60+		
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	[ã]	76.2%	16/21	[ã]	80.8%	42/52	[ã]	51.6%	16/31	[ã]	77.6%	52/67
	[nã]	9.5%	2/21	[nã]	3.8%	2/52	[nã]	22.6%	7/31	[nã]	19.4%	13/67
	[n]	14.3%	3/21	[n]	14.4%	8/52	[n]	25.8%	8/31	[n]	3%	2/67
Cap St.-Georges	[ã]	64.3%	9/14	[ã]	83.1%	49/59	[ã]	69.2%	18/26	[ã]	79.7%	55/69
	[nã]	14.3%	2/14	[nã]	6.8%	4/59	[nã]	23.1%	6/26	[nã]	5.8%	4/69
	[n]	21.3%	3/14	[n]	10.2%	6/59	[n]	7.7%	2/26	[n]	14.5%	10/69
La Grand'Terre	[ã]	25%	2/8	[ã]	84.4%	27/32	[ã]	81.3%	13/16	[ã]	95%	19/20
	[nã]	50%	4/8	[nã]	9.4%	3/32	[nã]	12.5%	2/16	[nã]	5%	1/20
	[n]	25%	2/8	[n]	6.2%	2/32	[n]	6.2%	1/16			
Stephenville				[ã]	91.5%	43/47				[ã]	100%	28/28
				[nã]	2.1%	1/47						
				[n]	6.4%	3/47						

than do older speakers.

6.4 Lui and leur

6.4.0. Introduction. Variation in the surface realization of both lui and leur will be dealt with in this section since they both would appear to involve either deletion or transformation of /l/.

6.4.1 Linguistic conditioning of lui. There are three phonological variants of the clitic lui in the 1980 corpus, [lɥiz], [lɥi], and [i]. The variant [lɥiz] is quite rare and occurs only in the environment before a vowel. While [lwi] has been attested for some younger informants, this phonetic variation has not been quantified. There is some evidence of the deletion of [ɥ] in other lexical items (e.g. cuillet "spoon" may be pronounced [tʃijɛr]); however, [li] is not an attested variant of lui. [li] has been noted by Valdman (1971) for Haitian Creole and by Corne (1977) for Seychelles Creole. In the tables below, results for the variants [lɥiz], [lɥi], and [i] are presented.

In Table 6.15 are the results for more formal style for the indicative construction. Only in the environment C__C is [lɥi] the preferred variant. Since a much lower rate is found for the environment V__C and V__V, it might be hypothesized that use of the [lɥi] variant is influenced by the presence of a preceding consonant. Results for the environment C__V would tend to support this argument. Overall, [i] occurs in 74.2% of tokens for this environment. These results are puzzling since they contradict the general tendency of French to alternate vowels and consonants in the surface string of segments, as we have seen with the en variable. A possible explanation is that, for the lui variable, the

Table 6.15

Realizations of lui in the indicative.
More formal style.

Realizations of lui	Environment								Total	
	C__C		V__C		C__V		V__V			
[lɥi]	89.3%	25/28	7.4%	5/68	31.6%	6/19	13.5%	7/52	25.8%	43/167
[i]	10.7%	3/28	92.6%	63/68	68.4%	13/19	86.5%	45/52	74.2%	124/167

subject clitic of the great majority of translation sentences was third person. In section 5.6 it was seen that the /l/ of the subject clitic deletes in 31% of tokens with the environment __L in more formal style. This percentage of deletion is less than that before most consonants. If /l/ deletion takes place, it is more likely to involve deletion of both the /l/ of the subject clitic and the /l/ of the object clitic, resulting in forms such as [i i dɔn] (Il lui donne.). When the /l/ of the subject clitic does not delete, it is more often the case that the /l/ of the indirect object clitic does not delete either.

Still looking at the results for more formal style, the distribution of lui variants in the futur proche construction is given in Table 6.16 below. Here as well [i] is the preferred variant, present in 78.4% of tokens. Since in futur proche constructions (with the possible exception of two-clitic constructions) the clitic is always preceded by a verb ending in a vowel (e.g. S.F. Je vais lui donner de l'argent. [ʒə ve lɥi dɔne dəlarʒɑ̃] "I'm going to give him some money.") the

Table 6.16

Realizations of lui in the futur proche construction. Formal style.

Realizations of lui	Futur Proche construction	
[lɥi]	21.6%	$\frac{8}{37}$
[i]	78.4%	$\frac{29}{37}$

phonological environment could here again influence the realization of the clitic lui.

The results for the affirmative imperative construction are given in Table 6.17 below:

Table 6.17

Realizations of lui in the affirmative imperative construction. More formal style.

Realizations of lui	Affirmative Imperative construction	
[lɥi]	12.5%	$\frac{5}{40}$
[i]	87.5%	$\frac{35}{40}$

In all tokens lui occurred in the environment following a vowel. [i] is also the preferred variant in this construction.

Similar results, presented in Table 6.18, were obtained for the faire-infinitive construction. In one token, however, a variant [lɥiz]

occurred. As in the français populaire of Québec and France, a [z] of liaison may follow dative clitics in the environment before a vowel.[4]

Table 6.18

Realizations of lui in the faire-infinitive construction. More formal style.

Realizations of lui	Faire-Infinitive construction	
[lɥi]	5.7%	$\frac{3}{53}$
[lɥiz]	1.9%	$\frac{1}{53}$
[i]	92.5%	$\frac{49}{53}$

Since only twenty-four tokens for this variable occurred in free conversation, it is impossible to compare results across styles according to phonological and syntactic environment. The results presented in Table 6.19 show that [i] is obviously the preferred variant.

Table 6.19

Realizations of lui in less formal style according to linguistic environment.

Realizations of lui	Indicative			Faire-Infinitive	Futur Proche	Total
	C__C	V__C	C__C	V__C	V__C	
[lɥi]	-	-	-	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	$\frac{1}{24}$
[i]	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{8}{8}$	-	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{23}{24}$

6.4.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning of lui. There would appear to be nonlinguistic conditioning of the lui variable as well. Table 6.20 gives the distribution of the variant [lɥi] according to sex, age, and locality. In the rightmost column is given the total proportion of [lɥi] tokens for each locality.

Table 6.20

Distribution of the [lɥi] variant according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male		Female		Total	
	-50	60+	-50	60+		
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	0/8	10/28	2/14	23/32	60.3%	35/58
Cap St.-Georges	0/21	0/24	0/24	7/32	12.1%	7/58
La Grand'Terre	0/15	5/29	0/4	0/12	8.6%	5/58
Stephenville		10/32		1/23	19%	11/58

Of the 58 [lɥi] tokens, 35 or 60.3% occurred in the speech of L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver informants. Secondly, only two of the tokens occurred in the speech of younger informants. It is apparent that [lɥi] is a conservative variant. As might be expected, [lɥi] occurs most often in the speech of older informants. Unfortunately, since only 24 tokens with lui occurred in free conversation (of which only one was the [lɥi] variant, occurring in the speech of an older Cap St.-Georges female) comparison according to style is impossible.

6.4.3 The underlying form of the [j-] variants of leur. For sentences designed to elicit the third person plural indirect object clitic the following variants were recorded: [lœr], [lœrz], [lø], [jø], [jøz], [jøs], [le], and [i]. We interpret [le] as a variant of the third person plural direct object clitic les. As will be seen in 7.5, there is a tendency in Newfoundland French towards the loss of dative case marking in favour of generalized use of the accusative clitics. [i] may be interpreted as a variant of lui, indicating a neutralization (for these tokens) of the number distinction.

Of the remaining variants, [lœr] and [lœrz] are obviously surface variants of underlying /lœr/, the latter variant having a [z] of liaison. The status of the remaining variants is problematical. [lø] may be interpreted as a variant of /lœr/ which has undergone /r/ deletion and raising of the now final vowel.[5] Pupier and Pelchat (1972:345) report a variant [lø] of leur in Montréal French. However, the singular accusative clitic le also has a surface variant [lø]. Since the [lø] variant with plural dative reference occurs only rarely, it may be that for these tokens both the case and number distinction have been neutralized. Thus there is evidence for interpreting [lø] as a variant of le and there is also evidence for interpreting [lø] as a variant of leur.

A palatalized variant [jø] is also noted by Pupier and Legaré (1973:67) for Montréal French and by Seutin (1975:75) for the French of Iles-aux-Coudres, Québec. [jø] and [jøz] (with a [z] of liaison) are the most frequently occurring variants in the 1980 Newfoundland French corpus. The variant [jøs] is phonetically identical to the

corresponding strong pronoun in Newfoundland French. It might be argued that variants [jøs], [jø], and [jøz] are, by analogy with the first and second persons plural, derived from the strong pronoun:

Strong Pronoun	Object Clitic
/nuz/	/nuz/
/vuz/	/vuz/
/jøs/	/jøs/

Thus one would predict that the final segment of /jøs/ would delete before consonants but would voice intervocalically. We would have two phonologically distinct underlying forms, each with its own set of phonetically plausible variants:

/lœr/ - [lœrz] ~ [lœr] ~ [lø]

/jøs/ - [jøs] ~ [jøz] ~ [jø]

A close inspection of the [jøs] data reveals that this variant may actually be a strong pronoun. Twenty-four tokens occur in the corpus in the following environments:

V__##	18	(affirmative imperative)
V__C	4	(indicative)
V__C	1	(futur proche)

With so many of the tokens occurring sentence-finally, it would seem reasonable to interpret this particular usage as non-clitic.

There is evidence against the two underlying forms hypothesis. In both Iles-aux-Coudres and Montréal French, [jø] is a variant of leur. However, in neither of these two varieties is the corresponding strong

pronoun realized [jøs]. Secondly, /l/ and /j/ appear to be morphophonemic variants within the Newfoundland French clitic system. Twenty-six tokens with a variant [jø] were recorded for sentences designed to elicit the singular accusative clitic le. This usage of [jø] was initially analyzed as plural dative. However, change in the directions from singular to plural and from accusative to dative conflicts with other results obtained for the breakdown of case marking in Newfoundland French. Since these [jø] variants were all elicited in the environment

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -back \\ -low \end{bmatrix} \text{ ——— } \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -back \\ -low \end{bmatrix}$$

it seems plausible that palatalization of the [l] has taken place.

Our second hypothesis has one underlying form /lœr/ from which would be derived variants [lœr], [lø], palatalized [jø], and [lœrz] and [jøz] with a [z] of liaison. [jøs] would be interpreted as a strong pronoun. Although we tend to favour the second, we note that there is evidence for and against both hypotheses.

6.4.4 Linguistic conditioning of leur. As for phonological conditioning of the occurrence of these variants, Table 6.21 gives results for the indicative in more formal style. The Standard French variant [lœr] accounts for only 7.9% of tokens. In only the environment C__C does [lœr] occur more than two or three times. It was seen above that the [lyl] variant of lui occurred most often in this environment. Since here as well the subject clitic ended in /l/, the co-occurrence of two /l/s seems to be resistant to the palatalization or deletion of one of them.

Table 6.21

Realizations of leur in the indicative.
More formal style.

Realizations of leur	Environment								Total	
	C__C		V__C		C__V		V__V			
[lœr]	37.5%	$\frac{9}{24}$	2.5%	$\frac{2}{79}$	13.3%	$\frac{2}{15}$	3.4%	$\frac{3}{88}$	7.7%	$\frac{16}{206}$
[jø]	62.5%	$\frac{15}{24}$	86.1%	$\frac{68}{79}$	-		8%	$\frac{7}{88}$	43.7%	$\frac{90}{206}$
[jøz]	-		6.3%	$\frac{5}{79}$	46.7%	$\frac{7}{15}$	88.6%	$\frac{78}{88}$	43.7%	$\frac{90}{206}$
[jøs]	-		3.8%	$\frac{3}{79}$	-		-		1.5%	$\frac{3}{206}$
[lœrz]	-		-		20%	$\frac{3}{15}$	-		1.5%	$\frac{3}{206}$
[lø]	-		1.5%	$\frac{1}{79}$	20%	$\frac{3}{15}$	-		1.9%	$\frac{4}{206}$

In Table 6.21 [jø] is preferred in the environments before a consonant while [jøz] is preferred in the environments before a vowel.

The results for the futur proche construction are given in Table 6.22. Since in all of these tokens the lower verb begins with a consonant, these results are very similar to those given above in Table 6.21.

In the affirmative imperative construction, [jø] is also the preferred variant. The variant [zø] only occurs twice in the corpus, in the speech of a Stephenville informant who also has several occurrences of [zø] as a strong pronoun. It may be that [zø] occurs (ostensibly as a

Table 6.22

Realizations of leur in the futur proche.
More formal style.

Realizations of leur	Futur Proche construction
[lœr]	6.7% $\frac{7}{105}$
[jø]	86.7% $\frac{91}{105}$
[jøz]	2.9% $\frac{3}{105}$
[lø]	3.8% $\frac{4}{105}$

Table 6.23

Realizations of leur in the affirmative imperative construction. More formal style.

Realizations of leur	Environment		Total
	C	V	
[lœr]	-	3.9% $\frac{5}{130}$	3.7% $\frac{5}{136}$
[jø]	100% $\frac{6}{6}$	80% $\frac{104}{130}$	80.9% $\frac{110}{136}$
[jøz]	-	.8% $\frac{1}{130}$	.7% $\frac{1}{136}$
[jøs]	-	13.8% $\frac{18}{130}$	13.2% $\frac{18}{136}$
[zø]	-	1.5% $\frac{2}{130}$	1.5% $\frac{2}{136}$

clitic) by analogy with the use of moi in this construction (e.g. Donnez-moi de l'argent.). This may also explain the use of the variant [jøs] in this construction as well.

In Table 6.24 the results for the faire-infinitive construction are given:

Table 6.24

Realizations of leur in the faire-infinitive, More formal style.

Realizations of leur	Faire-Infinitive construction	
[lœrz]	16.6%	$\frac{2}{12}$
[jø]	41.7%	$\frac{5}{12}$
[jøz]	41.7%	$\frac{5}{12}$

Here again [jø] and [jøz] are preferred variants.

Since so few tokens occurred in free conversation for this variable, results for the two syntactic constructions in which they occurred, the indicative and the futur proche, will be given in one table. Since thirty-five of these fifty tokens are in the environment before a consonant, it is not surprising that [jø] is the preferred variant, followed by [jøz]. [lœr] and [lœrz] together account for only 11.8% of tokens. Perhaps the fact that there are so few tokens for the environment C__C contributes to their low frequency of occurrence.

Table 6.25

Realizations of leur according to linguistic environment. Less formal style.

Realizations of leur	Indicative				Futur Proche	Total
	C_C	V_C	C_V	C_V	V_C	
[lœr]	-	17.2% 5/29	-	-	-	9.8% 5/51
[lœrz]	-	-	25% 1/4	-	-	2% 1/51
[jø]	100% 2/2	79.3% 23/29	25% 1/4	33.3% 4/12	75% 3/4	64.7% 33/51
[jøz]	-	-	50% 2/4	66.7% 8/12		19.6% 10/51
[jøs]	-	3.5% 1/29	-	-	25% 1/4	3.9% 2/51

6.4.5 Nonlinguistic conditioning of leur. In Table 6.26 the distribution of the [lœr] variant according to sex, age, and locality is given. Of the twenty-eight tokens with [lœr], twenty-five occurred in the speech of older informants. Retention of the [lœr] variant would appear to be conservative. With the exception of the Stephenville informants, females seem more conservative than males.

In less formal style, only five tokens with [lœr] occur, of which two were used by an older female L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver informant, one by an older female Cap St.-Georges informant, and two by a younger female La Grand'Terre informant. Whereas it is possible that, in the case of the younger informant, [lœr] is a form learned during her one or

Table 6.26

Distribution of the [lœr] variant according to sex, age, and locality. Formal style.

Locality	Male		Female	
	-50	60+	-50	60+
L'Anse-à-Canards / Maisons d'Hiver	0/29	0/54	1/37	11/49
Cap St.-Georges	0/35	0/36	0/24	7/46
La Grand'Terre	0/5	0/30	2/9	0/16
Stephenville		7/21		0/52

two years of French as a classroom subject, it is surprising that it was used in free conversation, which is presumably less formal. However, with so little data it is difficult to draw any conclusions here.

6.4.6 Conclusion. To summarize, then, use of the [lɥi] variant of lui and of the [lœrd] variant of leur is not widespread. These two variants appear to be giving way to reduced [i] and palatalized [jø] and [jøɾ] respectively.

6.5 Conclusions

In this chapter it has been seen that the phonological environment in which object clitics en, lui, and leur occur affects their surface realization. In the case of en it was found that the nature of

the following segment is most important. The co-occurrence of a third person subject clitic ending in /l/ and either lui or leur appears to discourage /l/ deletion or /l/ transformation. Otherwise the [ɪ] variant of lui and the [j-] variants of leur appear to be replacing [l-] variants.

In that [zɑ̃] is the preferred variant of en in the affirmative imperative construction, regardless of the number of clitics, there would appear to be some syntactic conditioning of surface realization.

Nonlinguistic conditioning of these variables is similar to that found earlier for the subject clitics. Young La Grand'Terre is least conservative in the use of the en variable; L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver is more conservative in the use of the lui variable. There are age differences in the use of variables en, lui, and leur, with older speakers using more standard variants more often than younger speakers. Younger speakers also tend to use more denasalized variants of en.

Notes

1. Le Glossaire du parler français au Canada gives the following examples of the variant [nɑ̃]:

Faut-il n'en donner? Faut-il en donner?

N'en veux-tu? En veux-tu?

and says that this variant is also found in the province of Haut-Maine in France. Data presented in Holder (1981) indicate that the [n] variant is also found in Nova Scotia Acadian.

Frei (1929) cites such "mistakes" in français populaire as Donne-moi-z-en, showing the variant [zɑ̃].

2. [ɑ̃], [nɑ̃], and [zɑ̃] all have surface variants with a final [n] in the environment before a vowel, as in Il y en a [inɑ̃na]. A careful checking of the data indicates that this alternation (e.g. [ɑ̃C]~[ɑ̃nV]) occurs regularly. Thus variants [ɑ̃] and [ɑ̃n], etc. are collapsed as one variant. [n], however, is treated as a separate variant.

3. For the grammatical constructions futur proche and faire-infinitive, responses were elicited for only one phonological environment.

4. [lyiz] and [lœrz] are attested by Frei (1929:103) and Morin (1979b: 15).

5. In most varieties of French [œ] occurs in closed syllables and [ø] occurs in open syllables, with the exception of the environment before [s] or [z], in which cases [ø] occurs.

CHAPTER VII

GRAMMATICAL VARIATION IN THE OBJECT CLITICS

7.1 Introduction

The phonological realizations of object clitics in various sentence types was dealt with in Chapter VI. This chapter will deal with the extent of cliticization. Variation in first and second person, third person, reflexive, y and en cliticization are each considered separately. Third person grammatical marking is dealt with in section 7.5. In 7.8 cliticization of individual pronouns is compared. The independent variables are type of grammatical construction, age, sex, and locality.

Although variation in all object clitics was quantified, not all usages of particular clitics could be investigated. For example, the questionnaire contained only sentences designed to elicit reflexive pronouns (e.g. Je me lève.; "I get up."). Although examples of reciprocal pronouns (e.g. Ils se disent bonjour.; "They say hello to each other.") occurred in free conversation, their use was not quantified. Similarly, not all possible usages of en were considered here. These omissions were necessary in order to limit the length of the formal elicitation section of the interview and to make less difficult the interpretation of an already complex set of results.

Finally, it has been specified in 1.4 that the major goal of this thesis is not a generative analysis of the data. Neither does the thesis deal with the more theoretical aspects of recent sociolinguistics. Rather, a detailed description of variation in one specific aspect of Newfoundland French grammar is the major concern here. Although in Chapters VII and VIII some reference is made to generative syntax, there is no deliberate attempt here to contribute to debates such as the

validity of a transformational versus a nontransformational analysis of French clitics.

7.2 Cliticization of en

7.2.0 Introduction. Grammatical variation in the use of en as the only object clitic in a sentence is the subject of this section; the co-occurrence of en with other object clitics will be discussed in 7.4 (with relation to first and second person object clitics) and in 7.6 (with relation to third person object clitics). The results presented below show high percentages of en cliticization in all but one syntactic construction. A tendency towards the postverbal positioning of en is noted here, as well as in 7.4 and 7.6.

7.2.1 Linguistic conditioning. In Table 7.1 are given the results for en cliticization in more formal style according to grammatical construction. An example of each of these grammatical possibilities is given below for the indicative construction.

He buys some. 1. [inanaʃɛt] I' nen achète. (cliticization)

2. [il aʃɛt də sa] Il achète de ça. (no cliticization)

3. [inānaʃɛt də sa] I' nen achète de ça. (cliticization + redundant [de + NP])

Of the 789 tokens for the indicative construction in which en is cliticized, 29 are of the type [il aʃɛt zā] Il achète zen. When en co-occurs with either a first or second person object clitic, we find that of 190 tokens, 19 are of the type [im dən zā] I' me donne zen. Similar results have been found for co-occurrence of en and third person object clitics.

Table 7.1

Cliticization of *en* according to grammatical construction.
More formal style.

Cliticization of *en*	Grammatical Construction								Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive			
En cliticized	92.3%	789/855	91.3%	211/231	94.4%	51/54	78.7%	48/61	91.5%	1099/1201
No cliticization	4.8%	41/855	6.1%	14/231	5.6%	3/54	21.3%	13/61	5.9%	71/1201
En cliticized + redundant [de + NP]	2.9%	25/855	2.6%	6/231	-		-		2.6%	31/1201

The most important question is whether or not en may be considered a clitic in these cases. It might be argued that, by analogy with forms such as Il achète ça ("He buys it.") and the English "He buys some.", both of which have strong pronouns, that en [zɑ̃] in the examples above is being used as a strong pronoun. On the other hand, only one variant of en, [zɑ̃], is used postverbally. As was seen in 6.3, [zɑ̃] is the preferred phonological variant in the affirmative imperative construction, in which en is cliticized postverbally. Furthermore, in all of these tokens en directly follows a verb. One of the criteria for French clitics given earlier in this thesis was that they may not occur without a verb.

Only in data from La Grand'Terre's Family A does there appear to be strong evidence that en has been reinterpreted as a strong pronoun, in such examples as the following:

[lave wi mɑ̃ʒe nɑ̃na] L'as fait lui manger nen a.
S.F. Je lui en ai fait manger.
"I made him eat some."

[nɑ̃ de lø a parti] Nen de leur a parti.
S.F. Quelques-uns sont partis.
"Some of them left".

Both examples appear to be calques of the English.

As for sentences of the type Il achète-zen., we may conclude that while there would appear to be evidence of calquing, there is equally good evidence that en is still used as a clitic. This structure would appear to be an innovative feature of Newfoundland French.

The rates of cliticization for the indicative, futur proche, and

affirmative imperative constructions are quite high. There is a rather lower rate, 78.7%, for the faire-infinitive construction. Of the 48 cases in which en is cliticized, in 39 of those en is attached to the lower verb, as in Je lui fais en manger ("I make him eat some."). As will be seen more than once in this chapter, cliticization in general and cliticization following the Standard French pattern are less favored in the faire-infinitive construction.

Four hundred sixty-two tokens for the en variable occurred in free conversation, of which 310 were the expression Il y en a. An additional 147 tokens occurred in other indicative sentences, and five tokens occurred in the futur proche construction. No data exist for either the affirmative imperative or the faire-infinitive constructions. All informants contributed to this total of 462 tokens and the results mirror those of the more formal style. In 94% of tokens (94.2% for il y en a alone), en was cliticized, 5% contained no clitic and 1% were redundant constructions.

7.2.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning. Table 7.2 gives the percentages of cliticization of en according to sex, age, and locality. Two younger cells, male Cap St.-Georges and female La Grand'Terre, have rather lower percentages of en cliticization than do the rest. However, since the four other younger cells have en cliticization rates of greater than 90%, there does not seem to be an age difference for the sample as a whole. Nonlinguistic conditioning of en cliticization according to age, sex, or locality is not apparent. Neither significant main effects nor interactions emerged from the analysis of variance test. Table 7.3 gives results for less formal style:

Table 7.2

Cliticization of en according to age, sex and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	91.1%	72/79	100%	89/89	91.1%	82/90	95.7%	90/94
Cap St.-Georges	76.5%	62/81	96.2%	75/78	97.6%	83/85	93.8%	76/81
La Grand'Terre	96.6%	86/89	91.5%	65/71	79.8%	71/79	91%	61/67
Stephenville			94.6%	88/93			96.5%	83/86

Table 7.3

Cliticization of en according to age, sex, and locality. Less formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	89.5%	17/19	98.2%	53/54	93.1%	27/29	85.5%	53/62
Cap. St.-Georges	90.9%	10/11	93%	53/57	92.6%	25/27	97.1%	67/69
La Grand'Terre	100%	8/8	90.6%	29/32	100%	16/16	95%	19/20
Stephenville			97.9%	46/47			100%	28/28

Again, this table shows high rates of cliticization. However, due to the large number of tokens for the construction il y en a, there is a possibility that these results are skewed. Further, the number of tokens for some cells are much lower than for others. It is also possible that greater and lesser amounts of data have influenced the results. On the other hand, though, these results are not radically different from those for formal style, with the exception that young male Cap St.-Georges and young female La Grand'Terre results are now in line with those of other cells.

7.3 Cliticization of y

The clitic y is quite rare in Newfoundland French. Only a few examples were found in more formal style; none occurred in free conversation. When y does occur, it is almost always realized [i]. Since y and the preferred variant of the dative clitic lui are homonyms, possible ambiguity may have influenced the decline of y. In more formal style, one informant, an older Cap St.-Georges female, had both [i] and [lɥi] as variants of y, as in the following example:

[il i va] ~ [il lɥi va] S.F. Il y va. "He goes there".

The informant seems to be aware of the fact that [i] is a reduced form of lui. By analogy, locative [i] is interpreted as a reduced form of lui as well. Since this variation is not found in the data for any other informant, it would appear to be idiosyncratic.

Use of y as a locative clitic (as in the example above) and to replace [à + NP] prepositional phrases when the noun phrase is inanimate (as in Je pense à mon travail. "I think about my work". → J'y pense.

"I think about it.") are equally rare. Y was elicited in one sentence type, the indicative construction. In only 16 of 289 tokens, or 5.5%, was y cliticized; 1.4% were redundant constructions; and 93.1% contained no clitic.

Table 7.4 gives the distribution of y according to age, sex, and locality:

Table 7.4

Distribution of the clitic y according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male		Female		Total	
	-50	60+	-50	60+		
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	0	2	1	3	6%	$\frac{6}{100}$
Cap St.-Georges	1	1	1	2	5%	$\frac{5}{100}$
La Grand'Terre	0	0	0	2	2.2%	$\frac{2}{90}$
Stephenville		1		2	6%	$\frac{3}{50}$

With such a limited amount of data, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the influence of the independent variables. It is noteworthy, however, that of the sixteen occurrences of the clitic y, only three occurred in the speech of younger informants and that, of the three, two were redundant constructions, as in [il i va la] Il y va là. Certainly y is extremely rare in Newfoundland French, particularly so in the French of younger speakers.

7.4 Cliticization of first and second person object pronouns

7.4.0 Introduction. First and second person pronouns moi, toi, nous, and vous cliticize quite readily in Newfoundland French. In cases where two clitics are possible (e.g. Jean donne [moi]$_{NP}$ [de l'argent]$_{PP}$) there is a strong tendency, if only one clitic occurs, for it to be the first or second person pronoun, as in Il me donne de l'argent. or Il me donne de ça.

7.4.1 Linguistic conditioning. In Table 7.5 below, the results are given for cliticization of first and second person pronouns when only one clitic is possible. The rates of cliticization are similar for all grammatical environments, although somewhat lower for the faire-infinitive construction. Here the 9.7% of occurrences in which there is no cliticization include several instances in which a strong pronoun was used, as in I' fait moi le manger. ("He makes me eat some.") in which moi is not a clitic. That moi is here a strong pronoun is supported by the fact that in this construction me most frequently attaches preverbally to faire and by the fact that the co-occurrence of a first person and third person clitic, attached to the same verb, is not attested elsewhere in the corpus.

The situation is more complex in the case of sentences for which there are two pronouns which may be cliticized, as may be seen in Table 7.6. Overall the percentage of two-pronoun cliticization is lower than the percentage of one-pronoun cliticization (when only one clitic is possible). When only one of two pronouns cliticize in the indicative

Table 7.5

Cliticization of first and second person clitics according to grammatical environment when only one clitic is possible.
More formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction								Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive			
first or second person pronoun cliticized	93.3%	291/312	94.1%	128/136	97.1%	66/68	90.3%	130/144	93.2%	615/660
no cliticization	5.8%	18/312	4.4%	6/136	2.9%	2/68	9.7%	14/144	6.1%	40/660
cliticization + redundant strong pronoun	.97%	3/312	1.5%	2/136	-		-		.8%	5/660

Table 7.6

Cliticization of first and second person clitics according to grammatical construction when two clitics are possible.
More formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction								Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive			
two pronouns cliticized	77.1%	181/251	70.1%	68/97	47.8%	65/135	75.4%	95/126	67%	409/610
one of two pronouns cliticized	16.3%	41/251	7.2%	7/97	52.2%	71/135	24.6%	31/126	24.6%	150/610
cliticization + redundant strong pronoun	11.6%	29/251	22.7%	22/97	-		-		8.4%	51/610
no cliticization	-		-		-		-		-	

construction; our results show that [de + NP] prepositional phrases cliticize less readily than do first or second person pronouns. To illustrate this point, a breakdown of the results for the possible co-occurrence of first or second person clitics and en is given below:

Cliticization	# of tokens	Example
1. preverbal {1, 2} + en;	162	[i mã dɔn] I' m'en donne.
2. preverbal {1, 2}; postverbal en	19	[im dɔn zã] I' me donne zen.
3. preverbal {1, 2}; en omitted	26	[im dɔn] I' me donne.
4. preverbal {1, 2} + en; redundant [de + NP]	20	[i mã dɔn də sa] I' m'en donne de ça.
5. preverbal {1, 2}; [de + NP] not cliticized	5	[im dɔn də sa] I' me donne de ça.
6. preverbal {1, 2} + en; redundant first or second person pronoun	4	[i nuzã dɔn a nuzo·t] I' nous en donne à nous-autres.
7. preverbal {1, 2} + en + en	4	[i mãnãna dɔne] I' m'en en a donné.
8. en cliticized; {1, 2} strong	5	[i nã dɔn a nuzo·t] I' nen donne à nous-autres.
9. preverbal {1, 2} + en; postverbal en	1	[i mã dɔn zã] I' m'en donne zen.
10. en cliticized; {1, 2} omitted	5	[i nã dɔn] I' nen donne.
Total	251	

Thus in only ten, or 4% of 251, tokens first or second person pronouns are not cliticized. In another 4, or 1.6% of, tokens a first or second person pronoun occurs as a redundant strong pronoun, as in #6 above.

Similar results were obtained for the futur proche construction. In four of the seven tokens in which only one pronoun cliticizes the clitic is first or second person. In only five of the twenty-two tokens which are redundant constructions is a first or second person pronoun the redundant element. In the remaining seventeen tokens, the redundant element is a [de + NP] prepositional phrase or a reduplicated en.

A breakdown of the results for the possible co-occurrence of two clitics in the affirmative imperative construction is given below:

Cliticization	# of tokens	Example
1. postverbal {1, 2}; 3 strong pronoun	64	[dɔn mwa sa] Donne-moi ça!
2. postverbal {1, 2} + en	59	[dɔn mwa zɑ̃] Donne-moi-zen!
3. postverbal {1, 2}; [de + NP] not cliticized	5	[dɔn mwa də sa] Donne-moi de ça!
4. postverbal {1, 2} + 3	4	[dɔn mwa le] Donne-moi-les!
5. preverbal cliticization[2] {1, 2} + en	1	[mɑ̃ dɔn] M'en donne!
6. cliticization 3 {1, 2} strong pronoun	1	[dɔn le a mwa] Donne-les à moi!
7. postverbal {1, 2}; [de + NP] omitted	1	[dɔn mwa] Donne-moi!
Total	135	

The rather low percentage (47.6%) of two-clitic responses may be explained by the fact that one of the translation sentences of the questionnaire contained a first person as well as a third person pronoun. In only four cases are both cliticized in the French translation; in the other sixty-four, only the first person pronoun is cliticized. On the other hand, a first person clitic pronoun and *en* co-occur in fifty-nine of a possible sixty-eight cases. When a first or second person clitic and a third person clitic co-occur in an affirmative imperative construction, clitic order is the same as it would be in preverbal position. In Standard French, however, the sentence would be rendered *Donne-le-moi*.[3]

In the case of the *faire*-infinitive construction the first or second person clitic cliticized to *faire* while the third person clitic cliticized to the lower verb, as in *I' me fait le manger.*, in 82 of a total of 95 tokens. Thus in only 13 tokens did both clitics attach to *faire*.

In more formal style, then, first and second person pronouns cliticize quite readily in all four grammatical constructions. The percentage of co-occurrence of first or second person clitics with another clitic (usually *en*) is somewhat lower. However, when only one pronoun is cliticized, first and second person pronouns cliticize more readily than *en*.

It is difficult to compare these results with those obtained in less formal style since no tokens occurred for the affirmative imperative construction and limited data is available for all other constructions except the indicative. Table 7.7 presents the results for cliticization of first and second person pronouns when only one clitic is possible:

Table 7.7

Cliticization of first and second person pronouns according to grammatical construction when one clitic is possible. Less formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction						Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Faire-Infinitive			
first or second person pronoun cliticized	99.5%	216/217	95.6%	43/45	100%	3/3	98.9%	262/265
no clitic	.5%	1/217	-		-		.4%	1/265
cliticization + redundant strong pronoun	-		4.4%	2/45	-		.8%	2/265

In the table above the percentage of cliticization of first and second person pronouns is extremely high. The percentage of tokens with co-occurrence of first and second person clitics with other clitics is much lower, as may be seen in Table 7.8. Given the low frequency of occurrence of first and second person pronouns in less formal style, only a superficial comparison of first and second person cliticization according to contextual style is possible. The results for less formal style are similar to those for more formal style in that the rate of cliticization of first and second person pronouns when only one clitic is possible is high but the rate of co-occurrence constructions is much lower.

Table 7.8

Cliticization of first and second person pronouns according to grammatical construction when two clitics are possible. Less formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction		Total
	Indicative	Futur Proche	
two pronouns cliticized	25% $\frac{3}{12}$	20% $\frac{1}{5}$	23.5% $\frac{4}{17}$
one of two pronouns cliticized	75% $\frac{9}{12}$	80% $\frac{4}{5}$	76.5% $\frac{13}{17}$

7.4.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning. Locality and age would appear to condition variation. In Table 7.9, the percentage of cliticization of one pronoun (when only one clitic is possible) is given.

Table 7.9

Cliticization of first and second person pronouns according to age, sex, and locality when only one clitic is possible. More formal style.

Locality	Male		Female	
	-50	60+	-50	60+
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	96.1% $\frac{73}{76}$	98.7% $\frac{73}{74}$	100% $\frac{68}{68}$	98.6% $\frac{72}{73}$
Cap St.-Georges	85.9% $\frac{61}{71}$	98.6% $\frac{70}{71}$	89.6% $\frac{62}{69}$	100% $\frac{56}{56}$
La Grand'Terre	55.4% $\frac{31}{56}$	100% $\frac{54}{54}$	65.3% $\frac{62}{95}$	100% $\frac{56}{56}$
Stephenville		98.7% $\frac{74}{75}$		98.7% $\frac{78}{79}$

While young La Grand'Terre has much lower rates of cliticization than do other cells, only a significant age main effect (df = 1, F = 6.836, p > .05) emerged in the ANOVA results. In general, younger speakers cliticize less frequently than do older speakers. A similar age main effect (df = 1, F = 26.682, p > .001) also emerged in the ANOVA results for two-clitic constructions, presented in Table 7.10 below.

Table 7.10

Cliticization of first and second person pronouns according to age, sex, and locality when two clitics are possible. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	53.8%	42/78	70.2%	59/84	70.5%	43/61	63.9%	53/83
Cap St.-Georges	70%	44/71	68.5%	50/73	55.7%	44/79	67.1%	55/82
La Grand'Terre	46.2%	24/52	62.9%	35/62	41.5%	22/53	59%	36/61
Stephenville			62%	49/79			65.9%	56/85

Although here again the young La Grand'Terre results are lower than the rest, the ANOVA age by locality interaction (df = 2, F = 1.772) is only significant to .18 (that is, there is an 18% probability that these results are due to chance).

7.5 Third Person Grammatical Marking

7.5.0 Introduction. Number and case marking were found to be variable in Newfoundland French third person object clitics.[4] In the accusative, the singular/plural distinction seems to be losing ground, especially in certain grammatical constructions. On the other hand, use of dative clitics would appear to be diminishing in favour of more extended use of the accusative. This appears to be particularly true of the faire-infinitive construction. In section 6.5 it was noted that while [jø] occurs most often as a variant of leur, it would also seem to occur at low frequency as a variant of le. Likewise [lø] occurs most often as a variant of le but in some instances would appear to be a variant of leur. Therefore underlying representations will be used in this section only when the status of a variant is clear (e.g. /lyi/ has surface variants [i] and [lɥi]). Otherwise we will refer to surface variants.

7.5.1 Singular accusative. In more formal style the following clitics were used with singular accusative reference in the following hierarchy of occurrence:

/lə/	([lø], [l])	263 tokens
/lez/	([lez], [le])	213 tokens
/lyi/	([lɥi], [i])	27 tokens
?	([jø])	26 tokens

Table 7.11 below gives the distribution of these results according to grammatical construction:

Table 7.11

Distribution of clitics used with singular accusative reference according to grammatical construction. More formal style.

Clitic	Grammatical Construction							
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive	
/lə/	86.4%	128/148	55.7%	113/203	10.4%	18/173	80%	4/5
/lez/	4.1%	6/148	30.5%	62/203	83.8%	145/173	-	
/lyi/	4.1%	6/148	5.4%	11/203	5.8%	10/173	-	
[jø]	5.4%	8/148	8.4%	17/203	-		20%	1/5

In the affirmative imperative construction /lez/ occurs in 83.8% of tokens. The postverbal position of the clitic in this construction, a position of greater stress, may well influence the use of /lez/ (realized [le]). In the futur proche construction as well the percentage of /lez/ tokens is relatively high.

Table 7.12 gives the distribution of variants of the /lə/ clitic according to nonlinguistic variables. With the exception of the relative advancement of the older female Cap St.-Georges cell (i.e. these speakers have a much lower percentage of the standard variant), there does not appear to be any particular patterning in these results according to social variables.

There is much less linguistic variation in less formal style.

Table 7.12

Distribution of /lə/ used with singular accusative reference according to sex, age and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	48.1%	25/52	57.1%	16/28	53.1%	26/49	50%	14/28
Cap. St.-Georges	62.5%	25/40	58.3%	14/24	55.1%	27/49	27.7%	13/24
La Grand'Terre	57.6%	34/59	51.9%	14/27	54.2%	26/48	57.6%	19/33
Stephenville			41.7%	10/24			61.8%	21/34

Of the 228 tokens with singular accusative reference, 224 contain the clitic /lə/ while 4 had [jø]. However, no affirmative imperative constructions occurred in free conversation for this variable. It is assumed that if there had been affirmative imperative constructions, results would have been more similar to those for formal style. However, the fact that [lø], [l], and [jø] were the only variants recorded for less formal style also points to [jø] being a low frequency variant of /lə/.

7.5.2 Plural accusative. The total number of occurrences of each clitic used with plural accusative reference is given below:

/lez/ 249 tokens

/lə/ 135 tokens

[jø] 46 tokens

/lyi/ 9 tokens

Their distribution according to linguistic environment is given in Table 7.13:

Table 7.13

Distribution of clitics used with plural accusative reference according to grammatical construction. More formal style.

Clitic	Grammatical Construction					
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative	
/lez/	31.6%	31/98	35.5%	43/121	76.1%	175/230
/lə/	57.1%	56/98	40.5%	49/121	13%	30/230
[jø]	8.2%	8/98	10.7%	13/121	10.9%	25/230
/lyi/	3.1%	3/98	13.2%	16/121	-	

In the futur proche construction only 43, or 35.5%, of tokens have /lez/. Similar results were obtained for the indicative, where only 31 of 98 tokens had /lez/. In the affirmative imperative construction, however, 76.1% were /lez/ tokens. It would appear that /lez/ is preferred in this construction regardless of number. As for the 46 [jø] tokens, it is not certain whether a number distinction has been lost (i.e. singular le [jø] is used with plural reference) or if a case distinction has been lost (i.e. dative leur [jø] is used with accusative reference). Since no [jø] tokens occurred in the environment before a vowel (where leur might be

realized [jøz] but not [jø]) there is limited evidence that [jø] is here a variant of le. In the light of other results reported in this section it seems more plausible that a singular accusative clitic might replace a plural accusative clitic than a plural dative clitic replace a plural accusative clitic. However, we cannot be totally certain of the status of [jø] in this case.

In Table 7.14 the distribution of /lez/ tokens according to sex, age and locality is given:

Table 7.14

Distribution of /lez/ according to sex, age, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	51.4%	18/35	55.9%	19/34	67.6%	23/34	70.4%	19/27
Cap St.-Georges	60.6%	20/33	45.5%	10/22	44.7%	17/38	62.5%	20/32
La Grand'Terre	79.3%	23/29	36.8%	7/19	79.2%	19/24	60%	15/25
Stephenville			74.2%	23/31			44.4%	16/36

Here again there is no particular patterning of results according to nonlinguistic variables. Neither was there much variation in less formal style. Of the 53 tokens with plural accusative reference, 51 had /lez/ while two had [jø]. The two [jø] tokens occurred in the indicative. No tokens occurred in futur proche, faire-infinitive,

interrogative or affirmative imperative constructions.

7.5.3 Singular dative. Three clitics were used with singular dative reference: /lyi/ (237 tokens), /lə/ (202 tokens), and [jø] (6 tokens). The distribution of these clitics according to linguistic environment is given in Table 7.15:

Table 7.15

Distribution of clitics with singular dative reference according to grammatical construction. More formal style.

Clitic	Grammatical Construction							
	Indicative		Faire-Infinitive		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative	
/lyi/	90.6%	$\frac{174}{192}$	22.8%	$\frac{53}{232}$	45%	$\frac{9}{20}$	96.7%	$\frac{29}{30}$
/lə/	8.3%	$\frac{16}{192}$	75.9%	$\frac{176}{232}$	55%	$\frac{11}{20}$	-	
[jø]	1%	$\frac{2}{192}$	1.3%	$\frac{3}{232}$	-		3.3%	$\frac{1}{30}$

It is in the faire-infinitive construction that /lə/ tokens far outnumber /lyi/ tokens. The loss of the dative may be attributed to the complexity of the faire-infinitive construction. It is also possible that interference from English could cause difficulty with this construction. For the translation sentence "I make him eat some.", Je le fais en manger was the most common response. The third person clitic is accusative and the second clitic attaches to the lower verb, whereas in Standard French the third person clitic would be dative and both would

attach to the higher verb, faire.

Although there is less data for the futur proche construction, /lə/ tokens outnumber /lyi/ tokens here as well. In the indicative and affirmative imperative constructions, however, the great majority of tokens have /lyi/. It would appear, then, that if case distinctions are being lost in Newfoundland French, this loss is most apparent in the futur proche and the faire-infinitive constructions. It may be that case distinctions are losing ground first in more complex constructions.

The table below shows the distribution of /lyi/ according to non-linguistic variables:

Table 7.16

Distribution of /lyi/ according to sex, age and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	29.7%	7/24	75%	27/36	40%	14/35	60.4%	32/53
Cap St.-Georges	64.5%	20/31	55.2%	16/29	45.7%	16/35	61.8%	21/34
La Grand'Terre	26.9%	7/26	59.3%	16/27	18.2%	4/23	30.4%	7/23
Stephenville			76.3%	29/38			67.7%	21/31

Younger speakers score lower than older speakers in the number of /lyi/ tokens used, with young La Grand'Terre scoring the lowest. However, one younger cell and one older cell behaved differently than their peers.

Younger male Cap St.-Georges informants had a much higher percentage of /lyi/ tokens, more in line with the results for older speakers, whereas older female La Grand'Terre informants scored within the range of younger speakers.

In less formal style, the results according to grammatical construction were as follows:

Table 7.17

Distribution of clitics with singular dative reference according to grammatical construction. Less formal style.

Clitic	Grammatical Construction						Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Faire-Infinitive			
/lyi/	72%	18/25	83.3%	5/6	33.3%	1/3	70.6%	24/34
/lə/	28%	7/25	16.7%	1/6	66.6%	2/3	29.4%	10/34

While the percentage of /lə/ tokens is somewhat less than in formal style, it is not possible to draw definite conclusions based on such limited data. No social patterning of the variant is apparent.

7.5.4 Plural dative. The clitic /lœr/ was used most often with plural dative reference:

/lœr/ ([jø], [jøz], [lœr], [lœrz], [jøs]) 376 tokens

/lez/ ([lez], [le]) 53 tokens

/lyi/ ([l i], [i]) 15 tokens

/lə/ ([l]) 3 tokens

? ([iø]) 5 tokens

Loss of the accusative/dative distinction would not seem to be as widespread in the plural as in the singular. The results according to linguistic environment are given in Table 7.18 below:

Table 7.18

Distribution of clitics used with plural dative reference according to grammatical construction. More formal style.

Clitic	Grammatical Construction							
	Indicative		Faire-Infinitive		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative	
/lœr/	81.9%	$\frac{185}{226}$	100%	$\frac{8}{8}$	76.5%	$\frac{78}{102}$	90.5%	$\frac{105}{116}$
/lez/	12.8%	$\frac{29}{226}$	-		12.7%	$\frac{13}{102}$	9.5%	$\frac{11}{116}$
/lyi/	3.5%	$\frac{8}{226}$	-		6.9%	$\frac{7}{102}$	-	
/lə/	1.3%	$\frac{3}{226}$	-		-		-	
[lø]	.4%	$\frac{1}{226}$	-		3.9%	$\frac{4}{102}$	-	

The [lø] tokens may be surface variants of an underlying /lə/ or they may be surface variants of underlying /lœr/. In any event, there are high percentages of what are obviously /lœr/ tokens in all grammatical constructions. The rather low number of /lez/ tokens may, however, be due to the small amount of data for the *faire*-infinitive construction.

The social patterning for this variable is somewhat similar to that for the singular dative:

Table 7.19

Distribution of clitics used with plural dative reference according to age, sex and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	85.7%	23/27	100%	39/39	64.4%	29/45	100%	45/45
Cap St.-Georges	93.3%	28/30	87.5%	28/32	78.3%	18/23	94.4%	34/36
La Grand'Terre	22.7%	5/22	100%	26/26	38.5%	5/13	44.4%	12/27
Stephenville			100%	40/40			93.6%	44/47

Here again young La Grand'Terre males and females and older La Grand' Terre females have low percentages of use of the dative clitic. However, other young speakers' performance does not really differ from that of older speakers for this variable.

In less formal style, nine /lez/ tokens occurred compared with forty-five /lœr/ tokens. However, only two tokens occurred in the faire-infinitive construction. The results according to linguistic environment are given in Table 7.20. Of the nine /lez/ tokens, four occurred in the speech of younger female Cap St.-Georges informants and five occurred in the speech of older La Grand'Terre informants.

Table 7.20

Distribution of clitics used with plural dative reference according to grammatical construction. Less formal style.

Clitic	Grammatical Construction			Total
	Indicative	Faire-Infinitive	Futur Proche	
/lœr/	84.1% $\frac{37}{44}$	-	100% $\frac{8}{8}$	83.3% $\frac{45}{54}$
/lez/	15.9% $\frac{7}{44}$	100% $\frac{2}{2}$	-	16.7% $\frac{9}{54}$

7.5.5 Phonological variation and grammatical marking. In the preceding pages number and case marking when one third person clitic occurs in a sentence have been described. Two points remain to be discussed in this section. The first concerns the clitics /lyi/ and /lœr/. When the [lœr] variant or the [lœrz] variant is used, /lœr/ is always plural dative. When the [lɥi] variant or the [lɥiz] variant is used, /lyi/ is used with singular dative reference in all but five tokens. In these five tokens, /lyi/ is used as a plural dative. Therefore, when the standard phonological variants are used, grammatical marking is also more standard.

7.5.6 Grammatical marking in co-occurrence constructions. Finally, in Table 7.21, the results are given for the co-occurrence of two third person clitics in more formal style:

Table 7.21

Grammatical marking in co-occurrence constructions according to linguistic and nonlinguistic variables.
More formal style.

Key: O = older, Y = younger; F = female, M = male;
AC = L'Anse-à-Canards, CSG = Cap St.-Georges,
GT = La Grand Terre, S = Stephenville.
Number of informants in brackets.

Co-occurrence of third person clitics	Grammatical Construction			Informant
	Indicative	Futur Proche	Affirmative Imperative	
A. singular dative + singular accusative	–	–	1	OF AC (1)
1. [lųi le]				
2. [lųi lø]	1	–	–	OM S (1)
B. plural dative + singular accusative	–	3	2	OM AC (1) OF AC (2) OF CSG (1) OM S (1)
1. [jø le]				
2. [jø lø]	2	1	–	YF CSG (3)
C. singular accusative + plural dative				
1. [ljø]	–	1	–	OM AC (1)
2. [i jø]	–	1	–	YF CSG (1)
D. plural accusative + plural dative				
1. [i jø]	–	–	1	YF CSG (1)
2. [lezi]	–	1	–	OF GT (1)

The number of questionnaire items designed to elicit co-occurrence constructions were as follows:

	# of items	possible tokens	actual tokens
A. singular dative, singular accusative	4	272	2
B. plural dative, plural accusative	1	68	2
C. singular dative, plural accusative	3	204	-
D. plural dative, singular accusative	3	204	10

Thus the relative frequency of occurrence of co-occurrence constructions is quite low.

Looking at clitic order, we note that in Standard French the third person accusative clitic precedes the third person dative clitic both preverbally and postverbally:

Je le lui donne "I give it to him. (or her.)"

Donne-le-lui! "Give it to him! (or her!)"

In Newfoundland French, however, the dative tends to precede the accusative, as in A and B of Table 7.21. In A1 and B1, the singular/plural distinction is lost in the affirmative imperative construction, and, in three of four tokens, in the futur proche construction.

In C1, clitic order and grammatical marking is as it is in Standard French. However, in C2 and D1, data from younger female Cap St.-Georges speakers, two clitics which are most often used as datives are juxtaposed. In D1 /lyi/, usually singular dative, is used to indicate a plural dative. Only in tokens for younger speakers is /lyi/

used with accusative reference when two third person clitics co-occur.

Co-occurrence of two third person clitics is unattested in free conversation.

7.5.8 Conclusions. To conclude, then, when there is loss of the singular/plural distinction, /lez/ tends to replace /lə/, particularly in the affirmative imperative construction. When there is loss of the accusative/dative distinction, accusative clitics tend to replace datives, particularly in the faire-infinitive construction.

7.6 Cliticization of third person object pronouns

7.6.0 Introduction. The third person object pronouns cliticize less frequently than do first or second person pronouns in all grammatical constructions except the faire-infinitive.[5] However, when two pronouns co-occur in this latter construction, the syntactic placement of the clitics is most often nonstandard, for both numbers and all three persons.

7.6.1 Linguistic conditioning. In Table 7.22 the results are given for the cliticization of /lə/, /lez/, /lyi/ and /lœr/ in more formal style. The rate of cliticization of third person clitics is lower than that of first or second person clitics, en, y, and reflexive pronouns in the indicative construction. It is more similar to that of other clitics in the other constructions. However, when two clitics are possible, the rate of cliticization of third person clitics is very low, as may be seen in Table 7.23. The rate of cliticization of third person clitics when two clitics are possible is much lower in all grammatical

Table 7.22

Cliticization of third person pronouns according to grammatical construction when only one clitic is possible. More formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction								Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive			
third person pronoun cliticized	71.7%	388/541	92%	207/225	87.9%	181/206	96.7%	114/118	81.7%	890/1090
no cliticization	27.7%	150/541	6.7%	15/225	11.2%	23/206	2.5%	3/118	17.5%	191/1090
redundancy	.6%	3/541	1.3%	3/225	.9%	2/206	.8%	1/118	.8%	9/1090

Table 7.23

Cliticization of third person pronouns according to grammatical construction when two clitics are possible. More formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction								Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive			
two pronouns cliticized	15.4%	40/259	3%	7/228	11.7%	52/443	71%	88/124	17.7%	187/1054
one of two pronouns cliticized	81.5%	211/259	95.2%	217/228	88.3%	391/443	21.8%	27/124	80.3%	846/1054
redundancy	3.1%	8/259	1.8%	4/228	–		7.2%	9/124	2%	21/1054

constructions than when only one clitic is possible. A breakdown of the results for the indicative construction is given below:

Cliticization	# of tokens	Example
A. 3, en[6]		
1. 3 cliticized; en strong pronoun or omitted	20	[il lɥi dɔn də sa] Il lui donne de ça.
2. en cliticized; 3 strong pronoun or omitted	19	[il ɑ̃ dɔn a lɥi] Il en donne à lui.
B. 3, 3		
1. 3 accusative cliticized; 3 dative strong pronoun or omitted	128	[il la dɔne a lɥi] Il l'a donné à lui.
2. 3 dative cliticized; 3 accusative strong pronoun or omitted	44	[il lɥi dɔn sa] Il lui donne ça.

Third person pronouns and en are cliticized with almost equal frequency. There is strong tendency for a third person accusative pronoun to be cliticized instead of a third person dative when one of two pronouns is cliticized.

When two pronouns do co-occur, clitic order is as follows:

A. 3, en		
1. 3 + en	29	[il lɥi ɲɑ̃ dɔn] Il lui en donne.

2.	3 preverbal; <u>en</u> postverbal	11	[il lɥi dɔn za] <u>Il lui donne-z-en.</u>

Constructions of the type A.2 have already been discussed in 7.2. The 3 + <u>en</u> pattern before the verb is that of Standard French as well. There were three tokens for the indicatfve construction in which two third person pronouns do cliticize. They have been discussed in section 7.5.

While there is a much higher rate of cliticization of a single third person pronoun in the <u>futur proche</u> than in the indicative construction, the percentage for two-pronoun cliticization is lower. When only one of two pronouns cliticizes, the results are as follows:

Cliticization	# of tokens	Example
A. 3, <u>en</u>		
1. <u>en</u> cliticized; 3 strong pronoun or omitted	8	[i va nɑ̃ dɔne a lɥi] <u>I' va en donner à lui.</u>
B. 3, 3		
1. 3 accusative cliticized; 3 dative strong pronoun or omitted	184	[i val dɔne a lɥi] <u>I' va le donner à lui.</u>
2. 3 dative cliticized; 3 accusative strong pronoun or omitted	25	[i va i dɔne sa] <u>I' va lui donner ça.</u>

In this construction, as in the indicative, third person accusative pronouns cliticize much more frequently than third person dative constructions.

When two pronouns cliticized in this construction the clitic order was as follows:

A.	3, en		
1.	3 + en	2	[i va lɥi jɑ̃ dɔne] I' va lui en donner.
B.	3,3		
1.	3 accusative + 3 dative	3	[əʒ mɑ̃ val jø dɔne] Je m'en vas le leur donner.
2.	3 dative + 3 accusative	4	[i va jø le dɔne] I' va leur les donner.

Construction A.1 is as in Standard French. The results for B are described in more detail in 7.5. B.1 is also the Standard French pattern.

Below is the breakdown of results for the affirmative imperative construction:

Cliticization	# of tokens	Example
A. 3, en		
1. 3 cliticized: en strong pronoun or omitted	9	[dɔn mwa] Donne-moi!
2. en cliticized; 3 strong pronoun or omitted	8	[dɔn zɑ̃ a lɥi] Donne-z-en à lui!

Cliticization	# of tokens	Example
B. 3, {1 2}		
1. 3 cliticized; {1 2} strong pronoun	88	[dɔn le a nuzɔ·t] Donne-les à nous-autres!
2. {1 2} cliticized; 3 strong pronoun	43	[dɔn mwa sa] Donne-moi ça!
C. 3, 3		
1. 3 accusative cliticized; 3 dative strong pronoun or omitted	206	[dɔn le a jøs] Donne-les à ieusses!
2. 3 dative cliticized; 3 accusative strong pronoun or omitted	37	[dɔn lui sa] Donne-lui ça!

As with the indicative construction, a third pronoun and *en* cliticize in the affirmative imperative construction at about the same rate. Third person pronouns cliticize more frequently in the affirmative imperative construction than do first or second person pronouns. As has already been seen with the indicative and the *futur proche* constructions, there is a strong tendency for the third person accusative pronoun to cliticize instead of the third person dative in affirmative imperative constructions as well.

The results for clitic order in two-clitic constructions are given below:

A. 3, *en*		
1. 3 + en	3	[dɔn mwa zɑ̃] Donne-moi-z-en!

B. $\left\{\begin{matrix}1\\2\end{matrix}\right\}$, 3		
1. $\left\{\begin{matrix}1\\2\end{matrix}\right\}$ + 3	40	[don mwa le] Donne-moi-les!
2. 3 + $\left\{\begin{matrix}1\\2\end{matrix}\right\}$	5	[don le mwa] Donne-le-moi!
C. 3, 3		
1. 3 dative + 3 accusative	4	[don lqi le] Donne-lui-les!

In Standard French, a first or second person pronoun precedes a third person pronoun preverbally, but follows a third person pronoun postverbally:

Il me le donne. "He gives it to me."

Donne-le-moi. "Give it to me."

In Newfoundland French, there is a strong tendency towards identical clitic order in both positions. Thus, Donne-moi-les type constructions occur more often than do the Donne-les-moi type. As has been mentioned previously, third person datives tend to precede third person accusatives in co-occurrence constructions.

When only one pronoun is involved, cliticization occurs quite readily in faire-infinitive constructions and the clitic almost always attaches preverbally to faire. The rate of cliticization of two pronouns is lower. When only one of two pronouns cliticizes, it is as follows:

A. 3, en

1.	3 cliticized: en strong pronoun ([də + NP] prepositional phrase) or omitted	16	[ʒə l' fe mãʒe] Je le fais manger.
2.	en cliticizes; 3 strong pronoun or omitted	11	[ʒə fe nã mãʒe] Je fais nen manger.

As with previously mentioned constructions, there does not seem to be any particular tendency towards the cliticization of third person pronouns instead of en or vice versa. When two pronouns cliticize in this construction, clitic order is the following:

A. 3, en

1.	3 + en cliticize to faire	17	[i lã fe mãʒe] Il l'en fait manger.
2.	3 cliticized to faire; en cliticizes to lower verb	45	[i lə fe nã mãʒe] Il le fait en manger.
3.	3 cliticized to faire; en cliticized to lower verb postverbally.	28	[i lə fe mãʒe zã] Il le fait manger-z-en.

Both A.2 and A.3 are nonstandard. If we separate them from the rest of the two-clitic data, the percentage of two-clitic constructions is reduced to 13.7%. These results are identical to those for first and second person clitics; there 13 of 95 tokens (or 13.7%) had two clitics attached to faire.

The results for less formal style are given in Table 7.24. In free conversation, very limited data occurred for the futur proche, affirmative imperative, and faire-infinitive constructions. In the indicative construction, the percentage of cliticization of third person pronouns is lower in less formal style than in more formal style. No two-clitic constructions containing a third person clitic occurred in free conversation.

7.6.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning. Table 7.25 gives the results for cliticization of one clitic according to sex, age, and locality. In this table the numerator is the total number of one-clitic tokens and the denominator is the total number of one-clitic tokens plus the total of no clitic tokens (that is, tokens in which there is no cliticization). In these results younger La Grand'Terre is less conservative. The age by locality interaction is significant at the .057 level ($df = 2$, $F = 3.045$, $p < .10$) and the age main effect is significant at the .063 level ($df = 1$, $F = 3.617$, $p < .10$). The results when two clitics are possible are given in Table 7.26. In this table the numerator is the number of two-clitic constructions whereas the denominator is the total of two-clitic constructions and constructions in which one of two pronouns is cliticized. When a three-way ANOVA was performed upon these data a significant age main effect emerged ($df = 1$, $F = 4.120$, $p < .05$). In general, younger speakers cliticized less often than older speakers.

Table 7.27 gives percentages of cliticization in free conversation. These results are quite different from those presented in Table 7.25. While one would expect lower rates of cliticization than in more formal

Table 7.24

Cliticization of third person pronouns according to grammatical construction when only one clitic is possible. Less formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction								Total	
	Indicative		Futur Proche		Affirmative Imperative		Faire-Infinitive			
third person pronoun cliticized	51.9%	258/497	88.6%	101/114	100%	3/3	83.3%	5/6	59.2%	367/620
no cliticization	47.3%	235/497	11.4%	13/114	-		16.7%	1/6	40.2%	249/620
redundancy	.8%	4/497	-		-		-		.6%	4/620

Table 7.25

Cliticization of third person pronouns according to age, sex, and locality when only one clitic is possible. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	75.3%	64/85	80.9%	68/80	78.9%	71/78	93.2%	68/73
Cap St.-Georges	83.3%	65/78	74.1%	63/85	89.6%	69/77	89.9%	71/79
La Grand'Terre	71.7%	51/71	87.7%	57/65	47.8%	49/92	95%	57/60
Stephenville			77.9%	68/77			80.3%	[illegible]/81

Table 7.26

Cliticization of third person pronouns according to age, sex, and locality when two clitics are possible. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	20%	12/60	21.6%	19/88	15.3%	13/85	18.1%	17/94
Cap St. Georges	15.5%	13/84	18.6%	13/70	19.5%	16/82	17.9%	15/84
La Grand'Terre	11.1%	10/90	11%	8/73	12%	9/75	14.9%	10/67
Stephenville			27%	17/63			21.1%	15/71

Table 7.27

Cliticization of third person pronouns according to age, sex, and locality when only one clitic is possible. Less formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	82.6%	24/29	39.1%	34/87	50%	17/34	55.4%	36/65
Cap St.-Georges	65.2%	15/23	62.5%	45/72	73.3%	22/30	53.6%	45/84
La Grand'Terre	41.7%	10/24	72.1%	31/43	68.9%	31/45	79%	30/38
Stephenville			48%	35/73			75%	24/32

style, one would not expect younger speakers to appear to be more conservative than older speakers. Male Stephenville informants, for example, have lower percentages of cliticization. Looking at the results more closely, however, it would appear that lower percentages are a function of more data. Older L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver, older Cap St.-Georges and male Stephenville all have more than seventy tokens whereas high-percentage cells have less than forty-five tokens. It is quite possible, then, that the results presented above are somewhat skewed. It is interesting, though, that although young male La Grand'Terre has a low number of tokens, this cell has the second from lowest rate of cliticization.

7.7 Cliticization of Reflexive Pronouns

7.7.1 Linguistic conditioning. Fourteen translation sentences (all in the indicative construction) were designed to elicit reflexive pronouns. Table 7.28 shows that the rate of cliticization was high:

Table 7.28

Cliticization of reflexive pronouns in the indicative construction when only one clitic is possible. More formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction: Indicative
reflexive cliticized preverbally	82.9% $\frac{750}{905}$
reflexive cliticized + redundant NP	1.1% $\frac{10}{905}$
no clitic	14.6% $\frac{132}{905}$
reflexive cliticized postverbally	.1% $\frac{1}{905}$
clitic not reflexive	.7% $\frac{6}{905}$

In this table and those which follow in this section, results for the three grammatical persons and for singular and plural have been combined. An example of each of the grammatical variants presented in Table 7.28 is given below:

1. reflexive cliticized — Je me lève. "I get up."
2. reflexive cliticized + redundant NP — I' s'a levé lui-meme. "He got up."

3. no clitic — Il a levé. "He got up."

4. postverbal cliticization — Levez-vous! "Get up!"

5. clitic not reflexive — Je l'as levé. "I got up."

Four of the six tokens in which the clitic is not reflexive occurred in the responses of young male La Grand'Terre informants. Number 4 above resulted from a misinterpretation of the translation sentence.

Of the 132 tokens in which there was no object clitic, eighty-eight, or 66.7%, involved the second person plural. Of the 122 responses for the two second person plural sentences, 34 were of the type Vous vous levez ("You get up.") while 88 were simply Vous levez. The loss of the object clitic here is probably due to the fact that it is identical to the subject clitic. This is the only case in which this parallelism might occur; the first person plural would be Je nous levons in Newfoundland French.

The results for the less formal style, presented in Table 7.29, show very high rates of cliticization. The discrepancy between this table and Table 7.28 above may be attributable to the large number of Je me rappelle . . . ("I remember . . .") tokens occurring in free conversation and to the number of third person references.

7.7.2 Nonlinguistic conditioning. The results for reflexive cliticization in more formal style according to age, sex, and locality are given in Table 7.30. Here again young La Grand'Terre appears less conservative than other informants, the males in particular. However, no significant main effects or interactions were found in the ANOVA results. As for less formal style, of the four tokens in which the reflexive

Table 7.29

Cliticization of reflexive pronouns in the indicative construction when only one clitic is possible. Less formal style.

Cliticization	Grammatical Construction: Indicative	
reflexive cliticized preverbally	94.2%	393/417
no clitic	.96%	4/417
reflexive cliticized postverbally	4.8%	20/417

Table 7.30

Cliticization of reflexive pronouns according to age, sex, and locality. More formal style.

Locality	Male				Female			
	-50		60+		-50		60+	
L'Anse-à-Canards/ Maisons d'Hiver	86.4%	57/66	91.3%	63/69	88.2%	45/51	88.4%	61/69
Cap St.-Georges	81.4%	57/70	79.7%	55/69	87%	60/69	88.6%	62/70
La Grand'Terre	63.8%	37/57	83.6%	46/55	70.6%	48/68	83.3%	45/54
Stephenville			85.3%	58/68			81.4%	57/70

pronoun was not cliticized, all were found in the speech of younger informants.

7.8 Conclusions

A comparison of cliticization of the different object pronouns will be made in this section while in Chapter VIII an analysis will be made of cliticization in general in Newfoundland French. Table 7.31 gives the percentage of single pronoun cliticization for each pronoun in each grammatical construction.

The clitic y does not occur frequently in Newfoundland French, either to replace [à + NP] prepositional phrases when the noun is inanimate or to replace locative noun phrases. In the latter case, the locative là (as in Je vais là) is preferred.

The percentage of cliticization of reflexive pronouns is lowered in the formal style by the inclusion of second person plural translation sentences; sentences of the type Vous levez. occur much more frequently than do the type Vous vous levez. It does not appear to be a question of reflexive cliticization in general being lower than cliticization of, say, first and second person pronouns, but of cliticization in the second person plural being lower.

Cliticization rates for first and second person pronouns and for en are quite similar at 93.2% and 91.5% respectively, while the rate of cliticization of third person clitics was lowest at 81.7%. The rate of cliticization of third person pronouns in the indicative and of en in the faire-infinitive are somewhat lower than rates for other pronouns and other constructions.

Table 7.31

Rates of cliticization according to grammatical construction in more formal style when only one clitic is possible.

Grammatical Construction	First and Second Person		Third Person		En		Reflexive		Y	
Indicative	93.3%	291/312	71.7%	388/541	92.3%	789/855	82.9%	751/905	5.5%	16/289
Affirmative Imperative	97.1%	66/68	87.9%	181/206	94.4%	51/54		-		-
Futur Proche	94.1%	128/136	92%	207/225	91.3%	211/231		-		-
Faire-Infinitive	90.3%	130/144	96.7%	114/118	78.7%	48/61		-		-
Total	93.2%	615/660	81.7%	890/1090	91.5%	1099/1201	82.9%		5.5%	

The relative lack of data for the constructions affirmative imperative, faire-infinitive and futur proche in the free conversation makes comparison of cliticization according to grammatical construction across styles impossible. There are, however, ample data to compare cliticization in the indicative. Table 7.32 below gives the rates of cliticization for each pronoun in the indicative for both styles.

Table 7.32

Rates of cliticization according to style.

Style	First and Second Person		Third Person		En		Reflexive		Y	
More formal	93.3%	291/391	71.7%	388/541	92.3%	789/855	82.9%	751/902	5.5%	16/289
Less formal	99.5%	216/217	51.8%	258/498	93.9%	429/457	99%	413/417		-

We would predict lower rates of cliticization in less formal style than in formal style. This is the case for third person cliticization and for y cliticization (indeed y cliticization is unattested in free conversation). However, the results for first and second person pronouns, en and reflexive pronouns are, at least at first glance, surprising.

However, several factors must be taken into consideration. It has been noted earlier that the en free conversation data include a high number of tokens for the il y en a construction. It might be suggested that this data be omitted from the comparison; however, if it were, the number of tokens would be reduced by three-quarters.[8] This factor also

affects our results with regard to extralinguistic conditioning, since older speakers almost invariably contributed more tokens in free conversation.

It should also be noted that the diversity of grammatical person found in the more formal section of the questionnaire is greater than that occurring in free conversation. The effect of second person plural data on the results for reflexive cliticization presented in Table 7.32 has already been discussed. However, in the free conversation, second person plural references with reflexive pronouns are very few; the great majority of tokens have first person or third person reference. Thus the higher percentage of reflexive pronoun cliticization in less formal style becomes quite understandable.

Finally there is the widespread problem of the low frequency of occurrence of many variables, especially grammatical, in free conversation. Wolfson (1976), for example, notes the low frequency with which the historical present tense is used in conversational narratives in traditional interviews in English. However, as was outlined in 4.3, the interviews from which the data here are drawn were considered quite successful. But the problem remains that, if indeed one interviews a fairly large sampling of the speech community, interviews which include more than an hour or so of free conversation per informant are not feasible, except perhaps if a large research team is involved. And when the interviews are of the length of these Newfoundland French interviews, lack of data in free conversation remains a very real problem.

Since so very few two-clitic constructions occurred in free conversation, only the data for the more formal style will be summarized

here. The rate of two-clitic cliticization for each clitic combination investigated here is summarized in Table 7.33:

Table 7.33

Rates of two-clitic constructions according to grammatical environment in more formal style.

Grammatical construction	{1, 2}, en		3, en		{1, 2}, 3		3, 3	
Indicative	72.1%	181/251	50.6%	40/79	–		0%	0/172
Affirmative Imperative	90.9%	60/66	8.2%	7/85	25.6%	45/176	1.6%	4/247
Futur Proche	–		20%	2/10	–		3.2%	7/216
Faire-Infinitive	–		17%	17/100	10.3%	13/126	–	
Total	76.03%	241/317	24.1%	66/274	19.2%	58/302	1.7%	11/635

The combination of a first or second person clitic and the clitic en occurs much more often than any other. The other combinations for which we have data all involve third person cliticization. It has been seen earlier in this section that third person pronouns cliticize less often than other pronouns in possible single-clitic constructions. When there is a possibility of two third person pronouns cliticizing, the actual number of two-clitic constructions is lowest.

While there are data for two-clitic constructions with the faire-infinitive, actual percentages are at 20% or less. For this table,

only two-clitic constructions with the faire-infinitive in which both clitics actually attach to faire are given in the numerators. Non-standard cliticization such as in Je le fais en manger and Je le fais manger-z-en were not included in the numerators since they are obviously innovative and may be attributed to interference from English or loss of markedness or both. An equally important reason is that the clitic status of the pronoun attached postverbally to the lower verb is debatable, as was seen earlier. However, variation in both case marking and pronoun position is certainly more pronounced in the faire-infinitive than in other constructions.

As for nonlinguistic conditioning of the results, one finds similar trends for all pronouns for which there are sufficient data. The less conservative individual cells for each pronoun in turn are as follows:

en (one clitic)--younger male La Grand'Terre
younger female Cap St.-Georges

y--too low a frequency of occurrence to compare

first and second person (one clitic)--young La Grand'Terre
(two clitic)--young La Grand'Terre

third person (one clitic)--young La Grand'Terre
(two clitic)--La Grand'Terre

reflexive--young La Grand'Terre

For only one dependent variable--third person cliticization when only one clitic is possible--did age by locality actually emerge in the ANOVA results as statistically significant. For three other dependent variables in this chapter--first and second person cliticization in one-

and (possible) two-clitic constructions, third person cliticization when two clitics are possible--age was found to be significant.

Notes

1. Since one variant of en, denasalized [ɑ̃], is very similar phonetically to the auxiliary avoir in the singular (e.g. [il a] il a; "he has") and since the widely-used nasalized variant is also very similar, there would appear to be a certain amount of confusion with regard to the use of en. For example, such responses to the translation sentence "He gave me some." as [i ma done] may be interpreted as the omission of en or as an example of coalescence.

2. In this case the token M'en donne! may be interpreted as structural hypercorrection. This older L'Anse-à-Canards male expressed his dismay at what he considers the bad French spoken by younger people, citing the construction I' me donne-zen as an example:

> When they talks like that, the fellers up there, we laughs, us. I don't put the zen on the end. That zen don't go in French. It don't soumd good.

His hypercorrected M'en donne! seems to be an effort to conform to what he considers more prestigious French, the French of his parents' generation.

3. Grevisse, however, notes that this order is not always adhered to in literary French:

> On trouve parfois les objets directs le, la, les après le pronom personnel objet indirect: . . . Rends-nous-les (Hugo, Leg. t. IV, p. 153) . . . (Grevisse 1969:428)

4. Discussion of variation in the making of a le/la distinction in the object clitics would necessitate an analysis of gender in general in Newfoundland French. Since such an analysis was considered beyond the

scope of this thesis, the object clitic le/la distinction has not been quantified.

5. Given that in sentences of the type

You gave it to him. → [tYla dɔne].

it is not clear that /l/ refers to the object or to the receiver, data such as the above are treated as missing in the quantification of case marking. Thus there is more actual data in 7.6 (cliticization) than in 7.5 (grammatical marking). We do have evidence in this chapter that it is usually the direct object rather than the indirect object which is kept in preverbal surface sentence structure. However, it is not possible to be totally certain for individual tokens.

6. Section 7.2 contains only results for en in single clitic constructions. Sections 7.4 and 7.6 contain results for en in combination with other pronouns.

7. Two additional grammatical constructions occurred in the data for two informants, être en train de (e.g. Il est en train d'en manger.; "He is eating some.") and c'est NP qui VP (e.g. C'est lui qui en mange.; "It's him who is eating some."). In the case of the former construction, a single third person pronoun was cliticized in both instances; in the case of the latter, there was no cliticization in either token.

8. While McCaulay (1977) imposed a lower and upper limit to the number of tokens each informant contributed for each variable in his Glasgow study, this has traditionally not been done in most variability studies.

CHAPTER VIII

CLITICIZATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND FRENCH

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter linguistic and nonlinguistic conditioning of both individual dependent variables and of cliticization in general is summarized. Phonological conditioning of phonological variables is apparent. This is less often the case with grammatical conditioning of grammatical variables. As for nonlinguistic conditioning, age has been found to be the most important independent variable.

Whereas Chapters V, VI, and VII present results for data obtained through indirect methods, both elicitation through translation and free conversation, sections 8.4, 8.5, and 8.6 of the present chapter present results obtained through direct questioning. At the end of each interview informants were questioned about their personal usage of French and that of their community. Subjective attitudes towards and personal intuitions about inter- and intra-community variation were elicited.

It must be kept in mind, however, that as Labov (1966) and Lambert et al. (1960) point out, directly elicited language attitudes are notoriously suspect. As Carden (1972) notes, the same is true of native speaker intuitions. Directly elicited attitudes and intuitions are more useful in determining the socially accepted norms of the speech community than in determining actual linguistic behavior or underlying speech stereotypes.

There is the danger in direct questioning that the informant will report what he or she feels the interviewer wants to hear and what he or she believes to be socially acceptable. Labov notes in his 1966 study of New York City English that "when the average New Yorker reports

his own usage, he is simply giving his norm of correctness" (Labov 1966: 455). Wolfram and Fasold (1974) also warn that overreporting is common to direct elicitation since it is difficult for informants to divorce linguistic acceptability from social acceptability.

There is obvious overreporting in the Newfoundland French results to be described in sections 8.4-8.6. However, these results are presented here because it is believed that overtly expressed language attitudes and perceptions are relevant to a description of variation in Newfoundland French since they do give an indication of socially accepted norms. It is unlikely, though, that they provide an accurate description of either linguistic performance or underlying language attitudes.

8.2 Linguistic Conditioning

It is difficult to extract general trends from a large and often complex set of results such as those presented in the preceding chapters. The results for each dependent variable have been analyzed separately in earlier sections and compared in the concluding sections of Chapters V, VI, and VII. One generality which does emerge, however, is that phonological conditioning of phonological variables is more clearcut than is grammatical conditioning of grammatical variables.

Figure 5.1 displays the results for /l/ deletion according to phonological environment. Figure 6.1 displays the results for the three most common variants of _en_ in the indicative construction according to phonological environment in more formal style.[1] It is apparent that phonological environment (in both cases the nature of the following segment) conditions both the application of the L Deletion rule and the

surface realization of *en*.

In section 7.5 it was seen that the variable loss of number and case distinctions could be attributed to grammatical conditioning. The accusative-dative distinction tended to be neutralized in the *faire*-infinitive construction, as was the singular-plural distinction in the affirmative imperative construction. However, grammatical conditioning of cliticization is not so evident.

Figures 8.1 and 8.2 which follow display, respectively, the results for cliticization in one-clitic and two-clitic constructions in more formal style. Since the clitic *y* and reflexive clitics were elicited in only one grammatical construction, the indicative, they are omitted. No general trends are apparent in either of these two figures. While the level of aggregation reflected in these tables may mask actual sources of variation, less aggregated results are no more revealing to any great degree. Only in the case of the *faire*-infinitive construction, in which two-clitic tokens are lower in relative frequency and in which only one of two clitics usually attaches to *faire*, the second attaching to the lower verb, is grammatical conditioning obvious.

8.3 Nonlinguistic Conditioning

In 1.4 it was noted that, in a sense, sociolinguistic methodology and the dialectology tradition are combined in this study, since along with intracommunity variables age and sex, the intercommunity variable locality is also investigated. As with other sociolinguistic studies, contextual style is an independent variable.

Figure 8.3 presents the results for cliticization (when only one

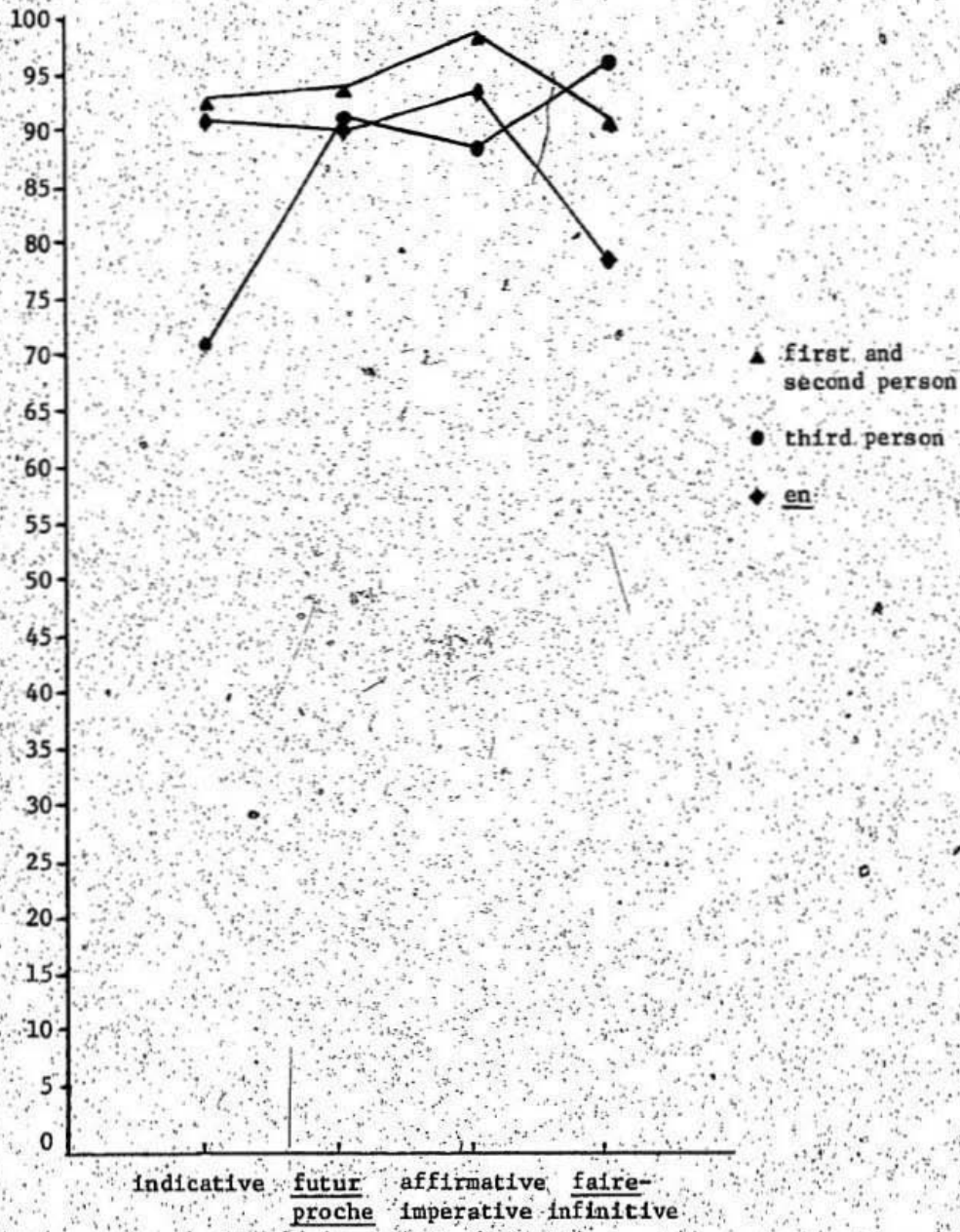


Figure 8.1

Cliticization in one-clitic constructions according to grammatical construction. More formal style.

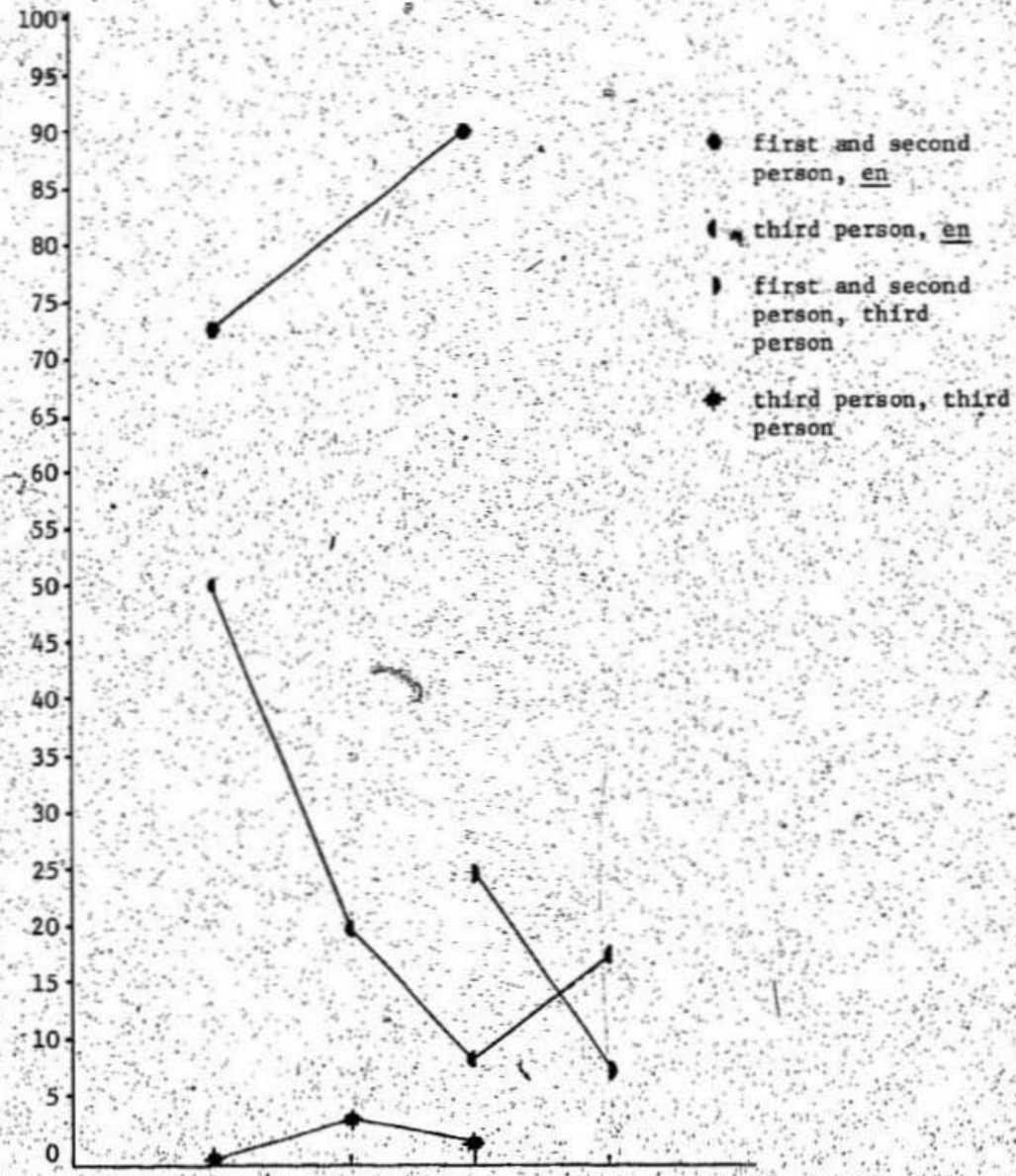


Figure 8.2

Cliticization of two pronouns according to grammatical construction.
More formal style.

clitic is possible) according to style. Both lack of data and skewed data in free conversation have been a continuing problem in this study. The former explains the fact that similar results for cliticization when two clitics are possible are not presented here. The latter explains why the results for first and second person cliticization and reflexive cliticization are the opposite from what one would expect. A clear stylistic difference does emerge for third person cliticization, shown in Figure 8.3, in which cliticization occurs with much lower frequency in less formal style. Style was also seen to condition the results for /l/ deletion, in which what is obviously a near-categorical rule in less formal style displays a great deal of variation in more formal style.

As for the social variables sex and age, Figures 8.4 and 8.5 present the results for cliticization according to age in one-clitic and two-clitic constructions respectively, while Figures 8.6 and 8.7 present the results for cliticization according to sex in one-clitic and two-clitic constructions respectively. Age has been found to be the most important nonlinguistic variable in this study. For all of the dependent variables for which results are displayed in Figures 8.4 and 8.5, younger speakers cliticize less often than do older speakers. Age was found to be significant for the phonological variables /l/ deletion and en realization. Sex, however, was only statistically significant for the /l/ deletion variable and then as part of an age by sex interaction. Unlike in many other sociolinguistic studies, the sex variable has not emerged as very important here.

Results for cliticization according to locality are presented in Figures 8.8 and 8.9. While we have noted a tendency towards

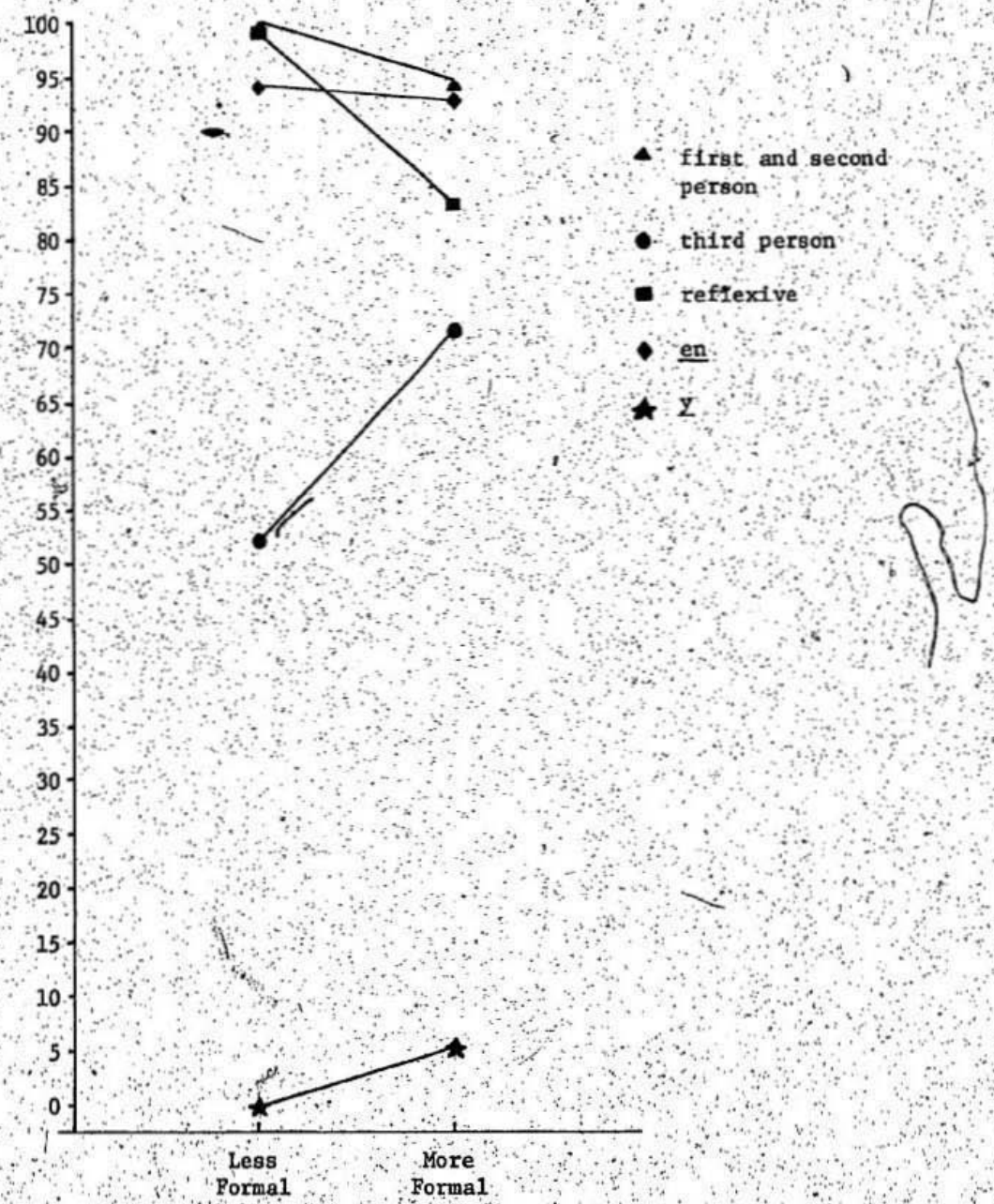


Figure 8.3

Cliticization according to contextual style when only one clitic is possible.

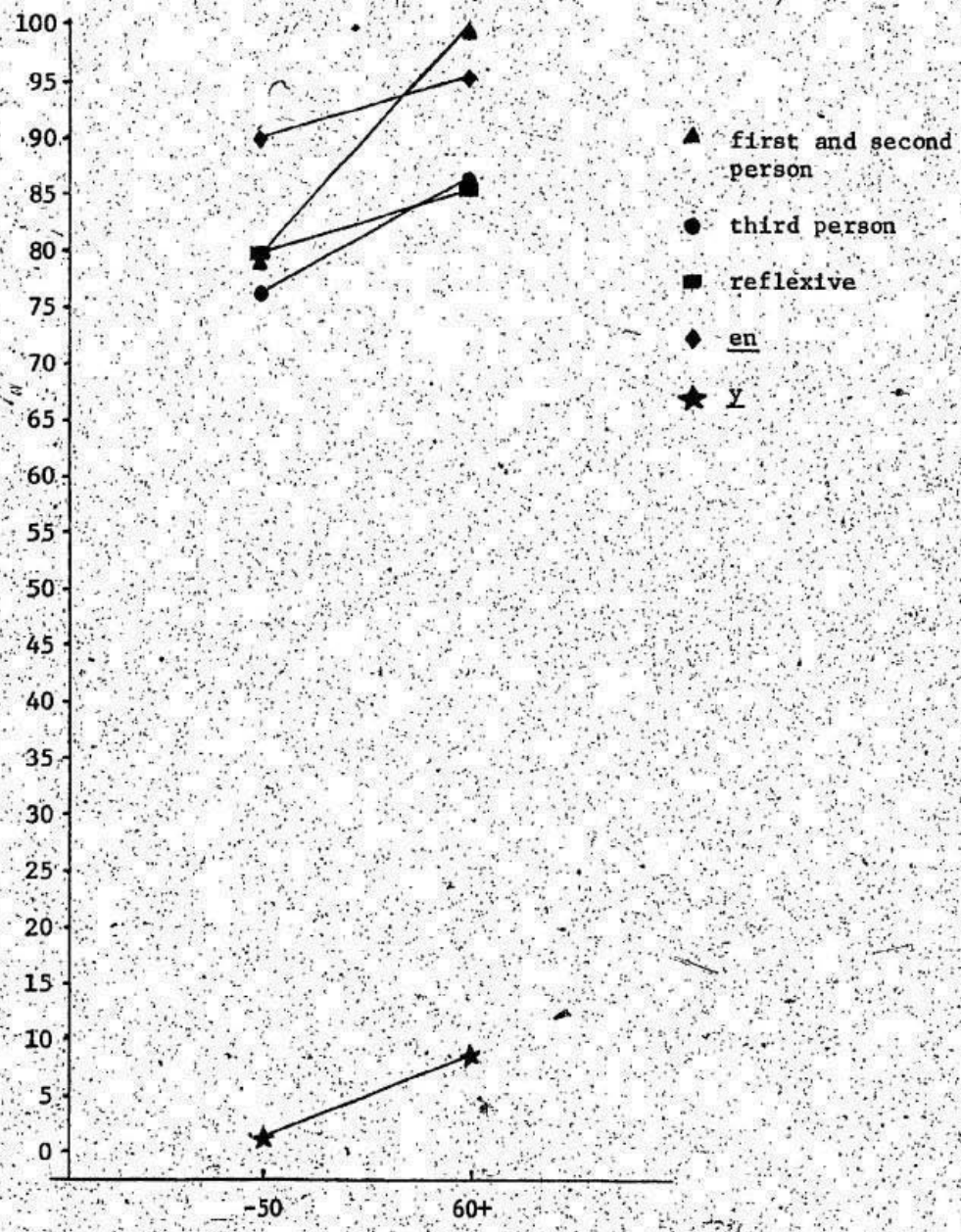


Figure 8.4

Cliticization in one-clitic constructions according to age. More formal style.

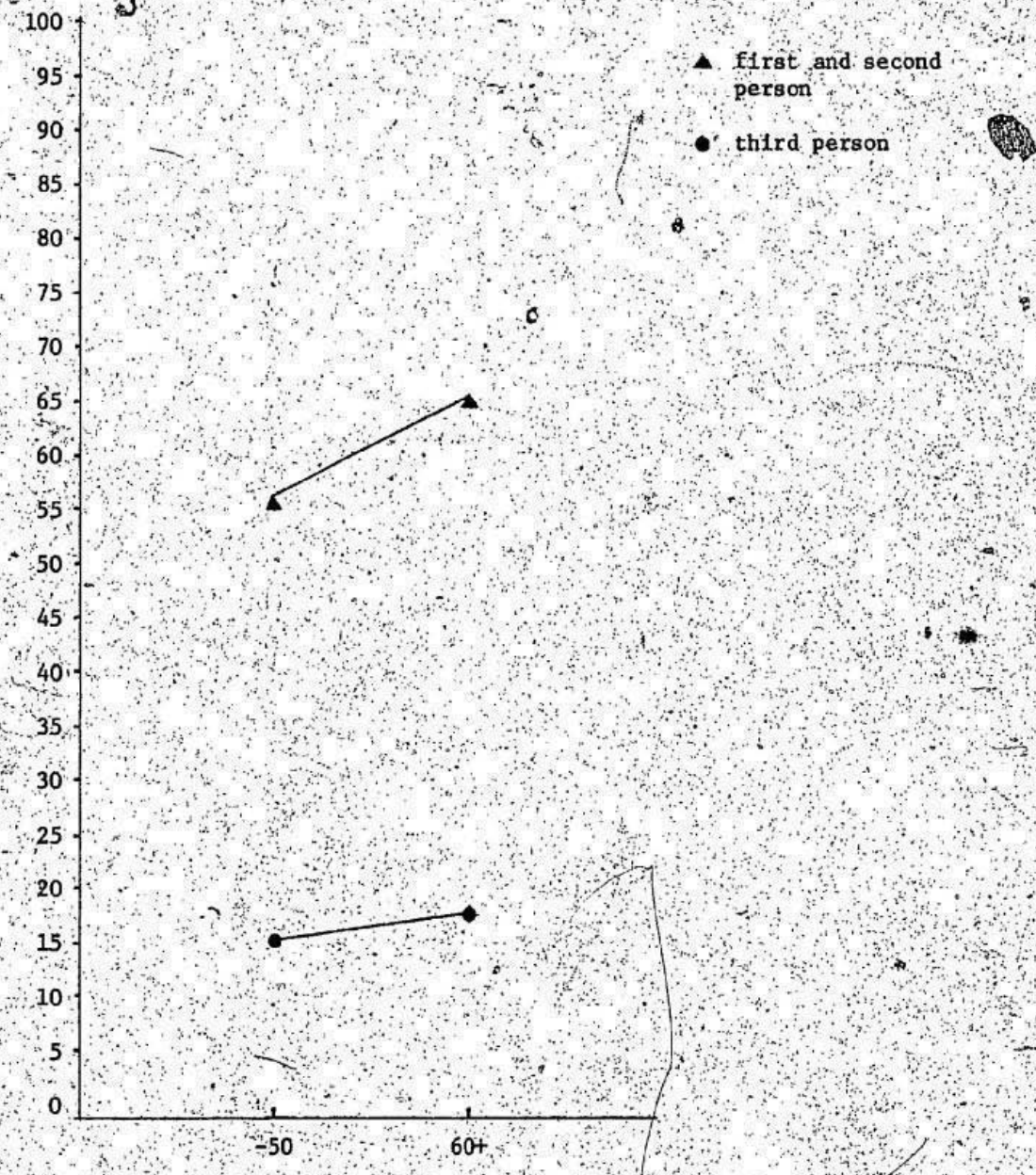


Figure 8.5

Cliticization of two pronouns according to age.
More formal style.

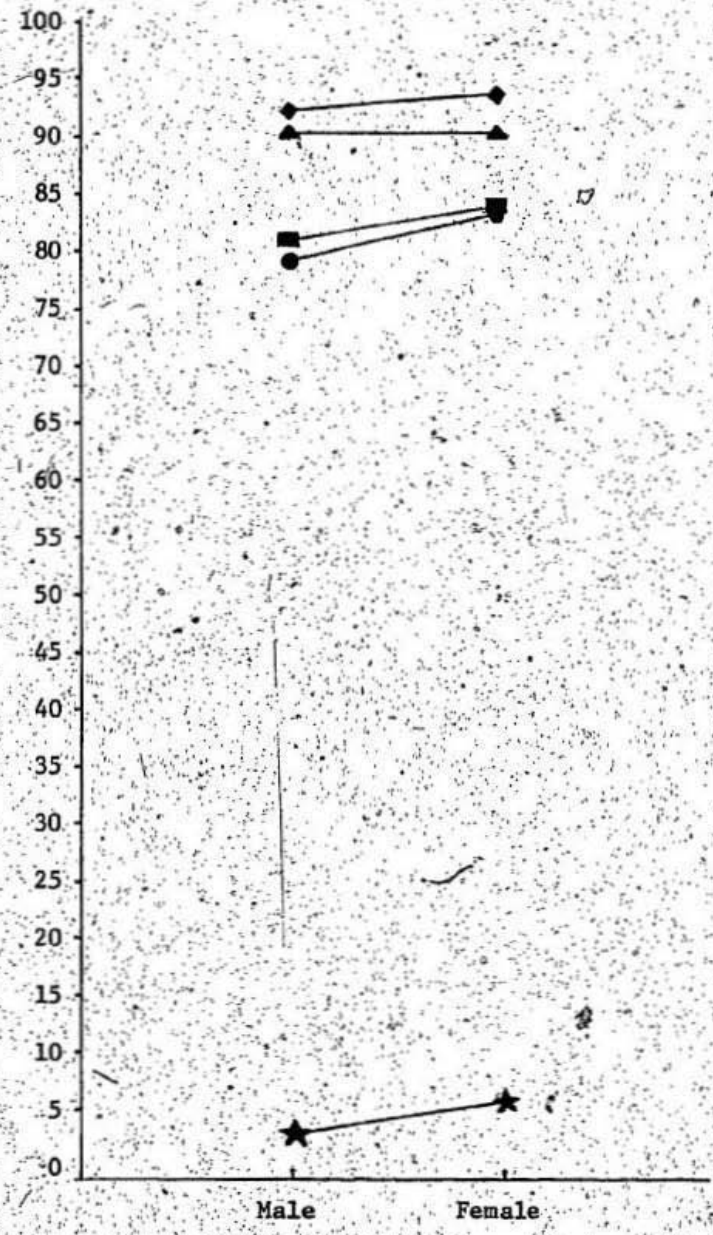


Figure 8.6

Cliticization in one-clitic constructions according to sex. More formal style.

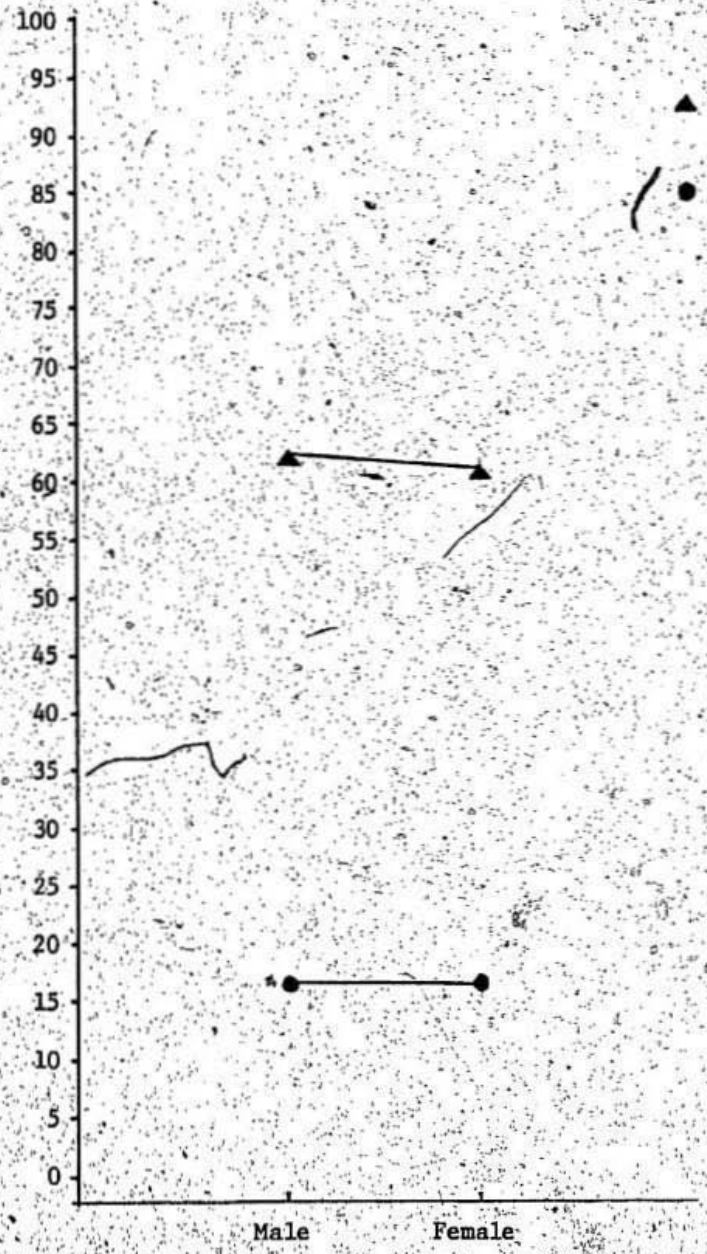


Figure 8.7

Cliticization of two pronouns according to sex.
More formal style.

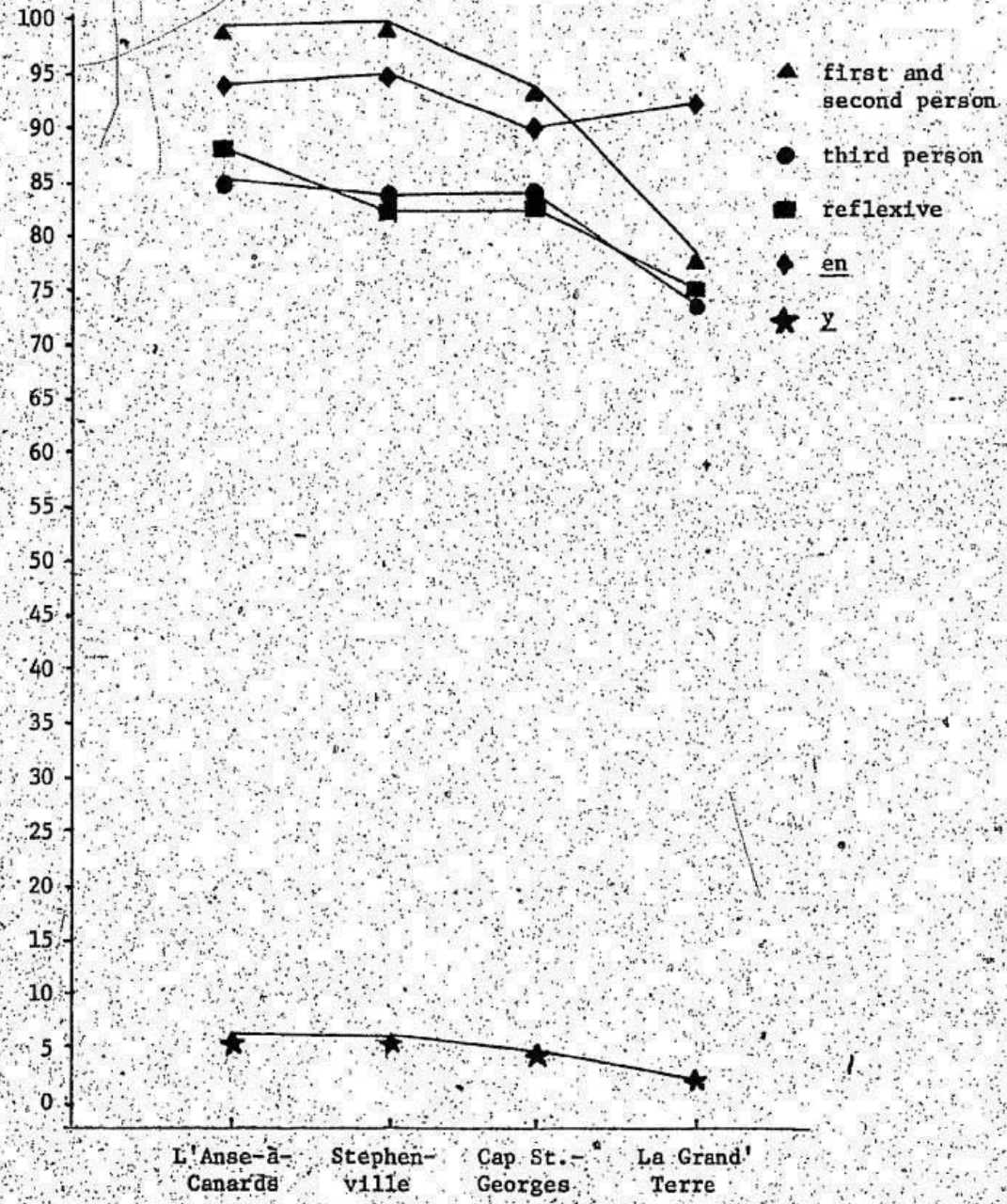


Figure 8.8

Cliticization according to locality in one-clitic constructions. More formal style.

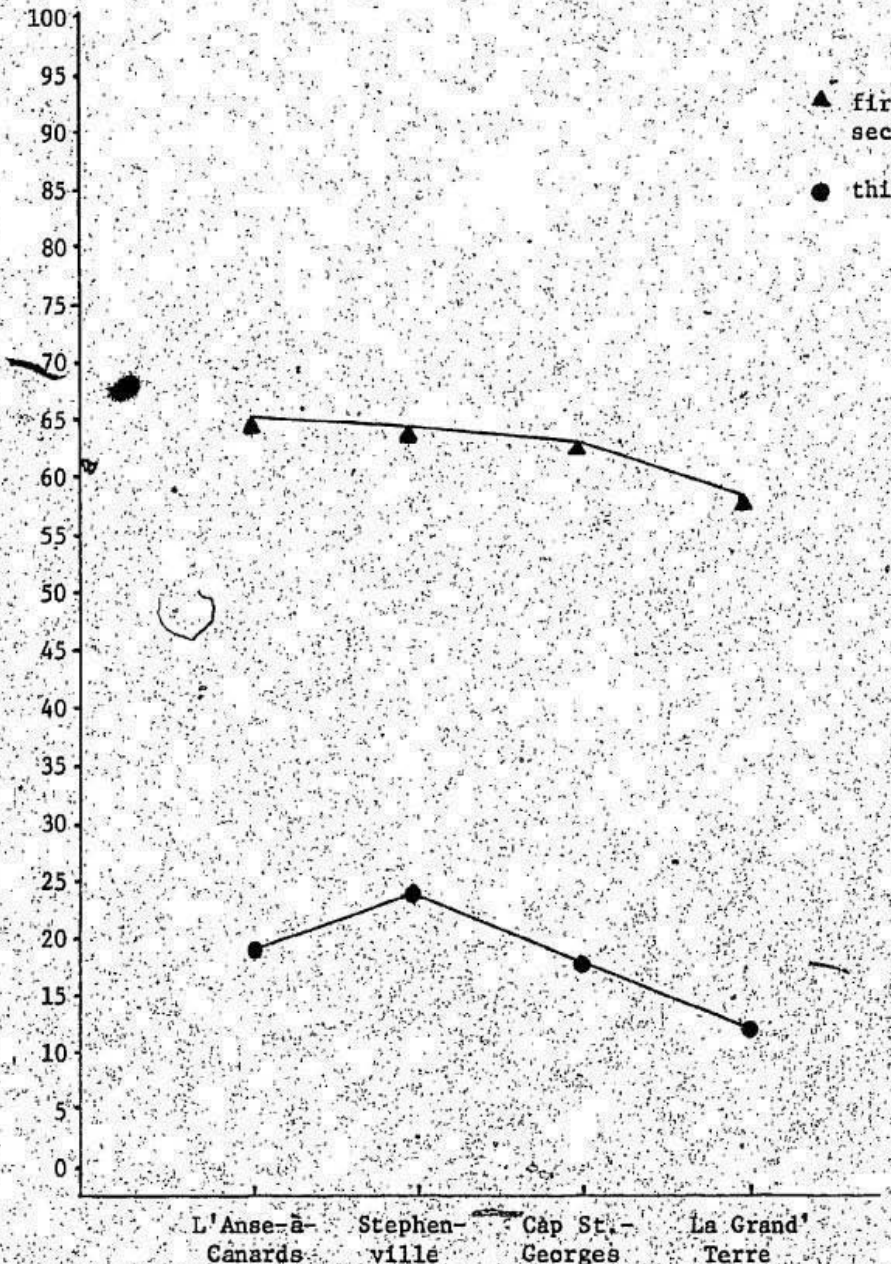


Figure 8.9

Cliticization of two pronouns according to locality. 'More formal style.

linguistic advancement on the part of young La Grand'Terre informants, locality was in fact statistically significant for only one dependent variable, third person cliticization when only one clitic is possible, for which young La Grand'Terre informants cliticized appreciably less frequently than did other informants. Although locality is not as important a variable as age in this study, the La Grand'Terre situation, especially given the linguistic peculiarities of Family A, is striking.

8.4 Informant Intuitions

8.4.0 Introduction. The final section of the questionnaire included questions designed to measure awareness of both intra- and inter-community variation, of the relationship between Newfoundland French and other varieties of French (e.g. Nova Scotia Acadian), of the relative degree of anglicization of Newfoundland French and of the relative frequency of certain syntactic constructions.

8.4.1 Intercommunity variation. All but two informants recognized linguistic variation between communities. These two informants stated that there was no difference between the French of Stephenville, Cap St.-Georges, L'Anse-à-Canards/Maisons d'Hiver and La Grand'Terre. However, many informants singled out La Grand'Terre in general and Family A members in particular as speaking differently than people of other communities. When asked for examples, the informants would often report on the pronunciation of certain words by some Family A members, usually contained in a humourous anecdote.

Some older informants noted that the French of Stephenville

residents differs from that of Port-au-Port Peninsula residents. Since there are no young Stephenville residents who are fluent French speakers, it would appear that younger peninsula Francophones have little contact with Stephenville Francophones. Those informants who mentioned Stephenville noted certain lexical differences. For example, the word 'well' (noun) in Stephenville French is usually source; on the peninsula one hears fontaine. A few informants gave examples of ouisme (e.g. donner pronounced [dune]) in Stephenville French.

Finally, a very few informants noticed differences between the French of La Grand'Terre/L'Anse-à-Canards and Cap St.-Georges. The prevalence of certain vocabulary items in Cap St.-Georges French was mentioned, as was the tendency towards the opening of [ɛ] to [a] in open syllables (e.g. il fait [i fa]).

Several informants said that they had little contact with the French of other communities and therefore found it difficult to give examples. Even today there is relatively little contact between the three Francophone communities of the Port-au-Port Peninsula. Seventeen miles of gravel road separate La Grand'Terre from L'Anse-à-Canards; Cap St.-Georges is an hour's drive from both communities. And although many peninsula residents shop in Stephenville they tend to have little contact with the few remaining Stephenville Francophones.

It is interesting to note, though, that when informants do suggest differences between communities they mention phonological and/or lexical differences, but there is no mention of grammatical variation. These results are similar to those obtained by Clarke (forthcoming), who found that when asked to identify non-standard features, Newfoundland

English informants were most successful with phonological features.

8.4.2 Intracommunity variation. Several L'Anse-à-Canards, Cap St.-Georges, and La Grand'Terre informants mentioned linguistic variation within their home communities based on age. Younger speakers were perceived to use more anglicisms when speaking French.

L'Anse-à-Canards and Maisons d'Hiver are considered one community for the purposes of the present study. The combining of these two communities is supported by informant intuitions, for no informants felt that there were any linguistic differences between the two communities. This was true both for residents of these two communities and for non-residents.

Fifteen out of eighteen La Grand'Terre informants singled out Family A French as aberrant. Ten out of twenty Cap St.-Georges informants recognized variation within their home community. Of these ten informants, several said that the French of two or three extended families was different from that of the rest of the community. These family groups are somewhat apart socially from the other residents of the community. It would seem here that social differences are being equated with linguistic differences.

Age and family group, then, were considered sources of intra-community variation. No other social factors were mentioned. These results are similar to those obtained through the indirect sections of the questionnaire.

8.4.3 Anglicization. The informants were asked to rate Newfoundland French on a scale of anglicization. Three older male

informants said that Newfoundland French is very anglicized, one citing the often heard cliché that Newfoundland French is moitié français, moitié anglais ('half French, half English'). Twenty-six informants felt that Newfoundland French contains a fair number of anglicisms. The remaining 37 informants, or 54% of the sample, replied that Newfoundland French contains few or no anglicisms. Those twenty-one informants who said that there are no anglicisms in Newfoundland French would appear to be replying according to their notions of social acceptability. While King (1979) found the degree of anglicization of Newfoundland French to be surprisingly low, it is quite apparent that certain English words occur very frequently in Newfoundland French (e.g. tractor, truck).

8.4.4 Newfoundland French and other varieties of French. As was mentioned in the introduction to the present study, the original French settlers of the Port-au-Port Peninsula/Bay St. George area included both Cape Breton Island Acadians and French from western France. The Acadians settled for the most part in Stephenville while the Metropolitan French settled uniquely on the Port-au-Port Peninsula. The informants were asked who spoke (i.e. the French of which community) most like Cape Breton Acadians and who spoke most like 'French from France'.

Whereas most informants responded to the question concerning Metropolitan French, only twenty-three informants responded to the question concerning Cape Breton Acadian. The remaining informants said that they had never heard Cape Breton Acadian. It is unlikely that many informants would be able to say what is distinctly French from France. However, the informants would appear to be influenced by their attitudes

towards varieties of French. As will be seen in section 8.5, the informants all rated Metropolitan French as having higher status than other varieties of French.

With the high status of Metropolitan French in mind, the informants' responses to the question of which community spoke most like Metropolitan French are revealing. The majority of both L'Anse-à-Canards and Cap St.-Georges informants felt that the French of their own community was most similar to Metropolitan French. Thus informants tended to upgrade themselves by pointing out the similarity of their French to the prestige variety.

This did not happen in the case of La Grand'Terre informants, however. Only four informants felt that the French of La Grand'Terre most closely resembled the French of France. The other La Grand'Terre informants chose L'Anse-à-Canards, Cap St.-Georges, or Stephenville or said that they did not know. Earlier in this study it was seen that La Grand'Terre differs somewhat from other communities for several dependent variables. It may be that La Grand'Terre informants have even greater feelings of linguistic insecurity than do the informants of other communities.

The Stephenville informants chose either L'Anse-à-Canards or Cap St.-Georges French as being closest to Metropolitan French. Since no Metropolitan French settled in Stephenville, the responses of the Stephenville informants reflect the history of settlement of the area.

The overall results to the question of linguistic similarity to Metropolitan French were as follows:

Cap St.-Georges 25

L'Anse-à-Canards	21
La Grand'Terre	9
Stephenville	1

Since Cap St.-Georges is a larger community than either L'Anse-à-Canards or La Grand'Terre with a larger number of Francophones, a French immersion program in the school system, and a very active French association, many informants expressed the belief that Cap St.-Georges French must be closest to the French of France.

While there is little difference in these results according to sex, age does seem to be an influencing factor. Over half of the older informants felt that L'Anse-à-Canards French is most like the French of France. The same number of younger speakers chose Cap St.-Georges. The remaining informants of both age groups were divided almost equally between La Grand'Terre and, in the case of older informants, Cap St.-Georges; in the case of younger informants, L'Anse-à-Canards. The preference of older informants for L'Anse-à-Canards French is discussed in the following section on language attitudes.

Although less than half of the informants responded to the question of which community speaks most like Cape Breton French, those who did, mostly older informants, seemed to relate the question to history of settlement. The overall results were as follows:

Cap St.-Georges	12
Stephenville	9
La Grand'Terre	2
L'Anse-à-Canards	-

While Stephenville was the principal center of Acadian settlement, there

has been over the years a certain amount of contact between Stephenville and Cap St.-Georges. Since Stephenville harbour is not good many Stephenville Acadians would move to Cap St.-Georges for the fishing season. Some of them married there and settled permanently in Cap St.-Georges. Thus one finds in Cap St.-Georges typically Acadian family names, such as Cormier.

The informants' perceptions of the relationship between Newfoundland French and other varieties of French seem to be more influenced by their knowledge of the history of settlement of the area and by social factors such as prestige than by actual linguistic intuitions.

8.4.5 Linguistic intuitions and cliticization. The final section of the questionnaire consists of a set of five sentences which were read individually to informants. The informants were asked how frequently each of these sentences might occur in their own communities. The informants were asked to think of the 'way' the sentences were said and not on the actual truthfulness of the sentences. The test sentences consisted of the following:

Je leur dis ça.	(one-clitic construction)
Je lui dis ça.	(one-clitic construction)
Je le lui dis.	(two-clitic construction)
Il en sait joliment.	(one-clitic construction)
Il s'en fait manger.	(two-clitic faire-infinitive construction)

The results reflect a certain amount of overreporting. Some informants would ask for instance to have the sentence Je le lui dis.

repeated, sometimes more than once, would then ask what it meant, and would finally reply that it was heard very frequently in their community. Despite this overreporting, the results reflect an overall ranking of the sentences which does not conflict with results for cliticization in Newfoundland French presented earlier in this study. In the table below the sentences are ranked in order of reported frequency:

Table 8.1

Reported frequency of five test sentences. Direct questioning.

Test Sentence	Occurs Often	Occurs Rarely or Never
1. Il en sait joliment.	32	35
2. Je lui dis ça./Je leur dis ça.	27	40
3. Il s'en fait manger.	21	46
4. Je le lui dis.	11	56

In each case, however, the majority of informants said the sentence occurred rarely or never. It is not known whether the informants were judging on the basis of phonological, grammatical, or some other criteria. For instance, Il en sait joliment. is both lexically and grammatically common. It was read to the informants as [il ɑ̃ se ʒolimɑ̃], a surface possibility in Newfoundland French, although [i nɑ̃ se ʒolimɑ̃] is more common. It may be that informants were judging on a phonological basis. This would agree with results reported earlier in this section for which informants gave only phonological or lexical examples of

intercommunity variation.

However, many informants who said that one of the test sentences occurred frequently would repeat the sentence somewhat differently from the interviewer's rendition. For example, after the interviewer said [il lœr di sa], many informants repeated [i jø di sa]. It is not clear, then, what phonological differences are perceived by the informants.

8.4.6 Conclusions. To summarize the results for informant intuitions, most informants seem to be aware of a certain amount of variation in Newfoundland French. They attribute differences to age and family group. While some decisions would appear to be based on the informant's knowledge of the history of settlement of the area, others would appear to be based upon ideas of social acceptability.

8.5 Language Attitudes

The informants were asked two direct questions designed to elicit subjective language attitudes. One question asked which variety of French (e.g. Québécois, Acadian, Metropolitan) was "best". The second asked the same question, but for the four Francophone communities of this study.

The responses to the first question were overwhelmingly in favour of Metropolitan French:

Metropolitan	35
Newfoundland	7
Québécois	3
New Brunswick	2
St. Pierrais	1

No variety of North American French, including the local variety, came close to Metropolitan French. Labov (1966) found in his investigation of New York City language attitudes, a negative response towards the local variety, and, he says, a profound linguistic insecurity. This is also apparent in the Newfoundland French situation.

Clarke and King's study (forthcoming) of covert language attitudes on the Port-au-Port Peninsula, in which techniques developed by Lambert et al. (1960, etc.) were used to indirectly tap attitudes towards varieties of French and English, found even less status associated with Newfoundland French. In this latter study the overall ranking in terms of status was the following:

Mainland Canadian English

Metropolitan French

Québécois

Newfoundland French

The Newfoundland French respondents were also found to have low feelings of group solidarity. As Clarke and King point out, the recent rebirth of interest in and appreciation of the French language and culture in the Port-au-Port area does not appear to extend to the local variety of French.

When asked to evaluate the French of the four Francophone communities in the area, the informants of the present study responded as follows:

L'Anse-à-Canards	18
Cap St.-Georges	17
La Grand'Terre	10

Stephenville	2
No response	21

As was expected, the residents of a particular community tended to think their own French was best. However, only two Stephenville residents chose Stephenville. The remaining Stephenville informants chose Cap St.-Georges (6), La Grand'Terre (1), and L'Anse-à-Canards (1). These results may be attributed to the general decline of French in Stephenville.

There is a clear age difference in these results. Only five, or 23.8%, of the younger informants who responded to this question chose L'Anse-à-Canards; eight chose Cap St.-Georges and eight chose La Grand' Terre. On the other hand twelve, or 75%, of the older informants who responded (excluding Stephenville) chose L'Anse-à-Canards while three chose Cap St.-Georges and one chose La Grand'Terre.

Comparing these results to those for the question of which community spoke most like France (the obvious prestige variety), the results are very similar. There would seem to be a definite age difference in the status attributed to L'Anse-à-Canards, with older speakers attributing greater prestige to the French of that community.

8.6 Language Loyalty

Since it was not possible to investigate socio-economic class as an independent variable, an attempt was made to establish an index of language loyalty based upon informants' responses to three questions in the background section of the questionnaire. The setting up of the index is described in 3.3. The questions directly elicited information concerning the frequency with which the informants speak French and the

people with whom they speak it.

Dorian (1980, etc.) has found language loyalty to be a determining factor in the continuance of West Sutherland Gaelic, a language variety not unlike Newfoundland French in that it has low prestige and is losing ground to English, the majority language.

However, the attempt to set up an index of language loyalty for the present study was severely hampered by the limited amount of data upon which it is based and by the method through which this data was obtained, direct questioning.

The range of scores turned out to be very slight. It is highly likely that informants overreported on their personal linguistic behavior along socially accepted lines. For example, some informants who are known not to speak French to their wives and children reported that French was the dominant language in the home.

Although there is a slight male/female difference in the language loyalty scores (females being slightly more positive towards French), it does not appear that it would be statistically significant. And although feelings of language loyalty are obviously important to the survival of French in western Newfoundland, the question has not been pursued further here since it has not been adequately quantified.

8.7 Conclusions

In this study variation in both the surface realization and use of clitic pronouns in Newfoundland French has been described. The set of subject clitics is smaller in Newfoundland French than in Standard French. There is no first person number distinction and, with the

exception of elle (feminine singular), no third person number or gender distinctions. The use of indefinite on was found to be restricted to older informants, while certain younger informants did not possess a tu-vous distinction based on formality. The deletion of the /l/ of third person subject clitics was found to be conditioned by phonological environment and by the social variables age and sex. A limited tendency to use strong pronouns instead of subject clitics, particularly on the part of La Grand'Terre informants, was also noted.

In the object clitics, case distinctions are losing ground, particularly in the faire-infinitive construction, as are number distinctions, particularly in the affirmative imperative construction. When there is a loss of the singular-plural distinction, plural forms tend to replace singular forms. When there is a loss of the accusative-dative distinction, accusatives tend to replace datives. It has been seen that variation is conditioned by both social and linguistic factors.

Cliticization is an important grammatical process in Newfoundland French, as it is in all varieties of French with the exception of some creolized varieties. The lower relative frequencies with which younger speakers have been seen to cliticize object pronouns may well mark, however, a change in progress in the direction of using more strong pronouns than object clitics. Certainly Frei's 1929 prediction for the evolution of French clitic order, that the stage of Je vous le donne would be followed by the stage Je vous donne ça (Frei's "solution de l'avenir") is borne out in the Newfoundland French results. The most advanced features of the Newfoundland French clitic system--e.g. the tendency to postpose en in indicative constructions, the almost

categorical loss of the clitic *y*--also point in this direction.

That age has emerged as the major nonlinguistic variable in this study indicates a change in apparent time. Most interesting would be a follow-up study to this one at some point in the future, to determine if there will also be a change in real time.

Notes

1. Since the results for less formal style are somewhat skewed (see 6.3) they do not enter into the discussion here.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

- CENSUS FIGURES FOR THE PORT-AU-PORT PENINSULA/ BAY ST. GEORGE AREA

- INFORMANT BACKGROUND

Table 9.1

Population figures for the Port-au-Port Peninsula/ Stephenville area according to community or enumeration area. Number of people whose mother tongue is French is given in parentheses for the 1976 Census.

Community	Census		
	1971	1976	1981
Stephenville	10,780	10,284 (145)	8,876
Kippens	1,480	1,267 (100)	1,219
Cap St.-Georges	1,305	1,370 (275)	1,470
La Grand'Terre, Trois Cailloux	676	756 (155)	816
L'Anse-à-Canards, Maisons d'Hiver, West Bay	322	338 (30)	357

Table 9.2

Population figures for the Port-au-Port Peninsula/ Stephenville area. Number of people whose mother tongue is French is given in parentheses.

Area	Census			
	1951	1961	1971	1981
St. George's	2,305 (251)	3,187 (325)	2,070 (75)	1,710 (40)
Stephenville	6,063 (713)	11,124 (690)	10,780 (190)	8,876
Port-au-Port Peninsula	4,185 (815)	5,700 (967)	5,535 (500)	5,245 (580)

Place of birth of informant's father:

Cap St.-Georges	20
L'Anse-à-Canards	17
Stephenville	9
France	8
Elsewhere	2
Unknown	1

Place of birth of informant's mother:

L'Anse-à-Canards	20
Cap St.-Georges	19
La Grand'Terre	12
Stephenville	9
Nova Scotia	1
St. Georges	1
Elsewhere in area	2
Elsewhere	2

Place of birth of informant's maternal grandmother:

L'Anse-à-Canards	12
Cap St.-Georges	10
La Grand'Terre	7
Stephenville	4
Nova Scotia	4
France	4
St. Georges	2
St. Pierre	1

Elsewhere in area	10
Elsewhere	5

Place of birth of informant's maternal grandfather:

L'Anse-à-Canards	13
Cap St.-Georges	13
France	10
Stephenville	6
Nova Scotia	5
St. Pierre	1
St. Georges	1
Elsewhere in area	3
Elsewhere	2
Unknown	6

Place of birth of informant's paternal grandmother:

France	12
Cap St.-Georges	11
L'Anse-à-Canards	8
Stephenville	5
Nova Scotia	4
La Grand'Terre	3
Elsewhere in area	7
Elsewhere	1
Unknown	17

Place of birth of informant's paternal grandfather:

France	24
L'Anse-à-Canards	10
Cap St.-Georges	7
La Grand'Terre	5
Stephenville	5
St. Georges	1
Elsewhere in area	1
Elsewhere	1
Unknown	9

APPENDIX B

- SPECTROGRAMS OF DENASALIZED EN AND LENGTHENED /1/

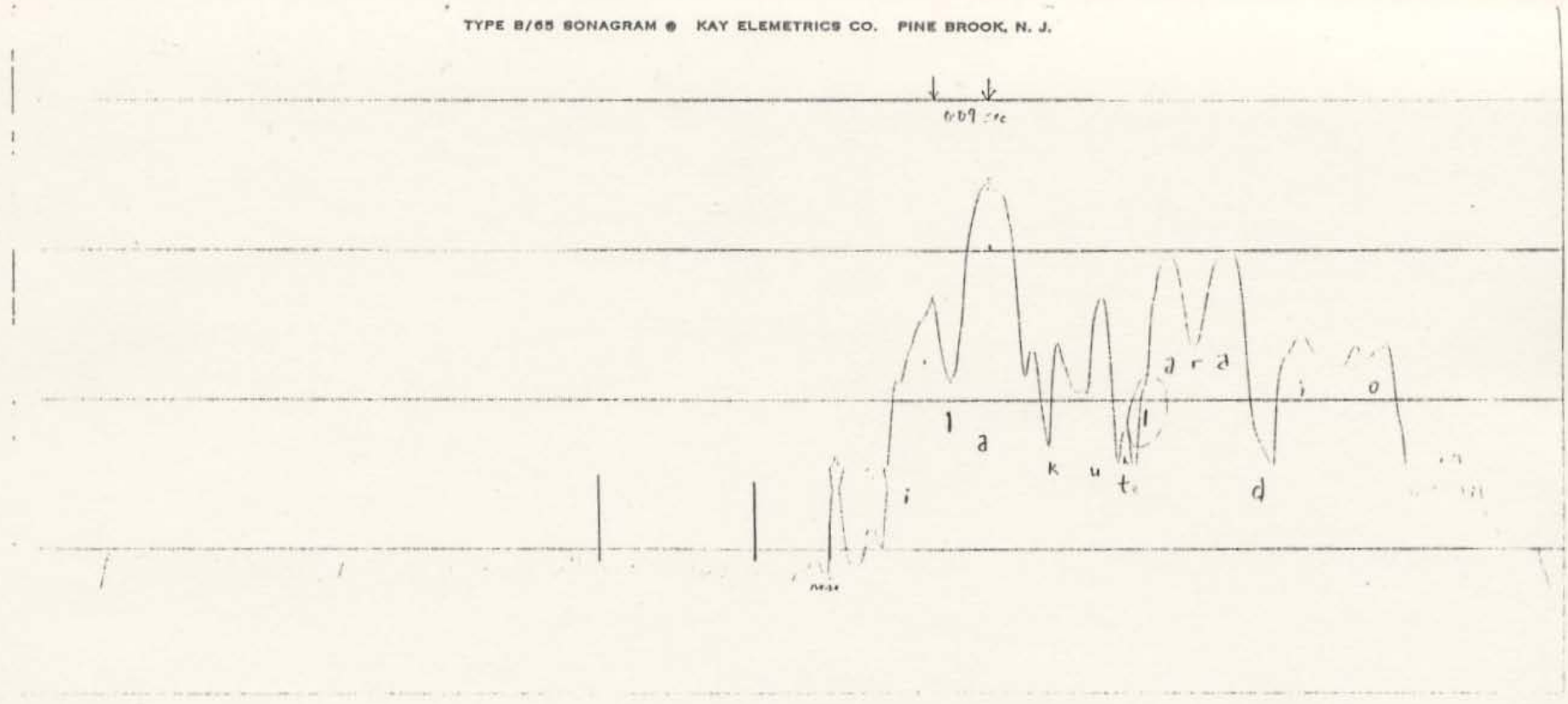

Figure 9.1 Spectrogram of Il écoute la radio. [ilakut^{h} la radio] Overall amplitude display 0-3000 Hz. The first syllable boundary is clean.

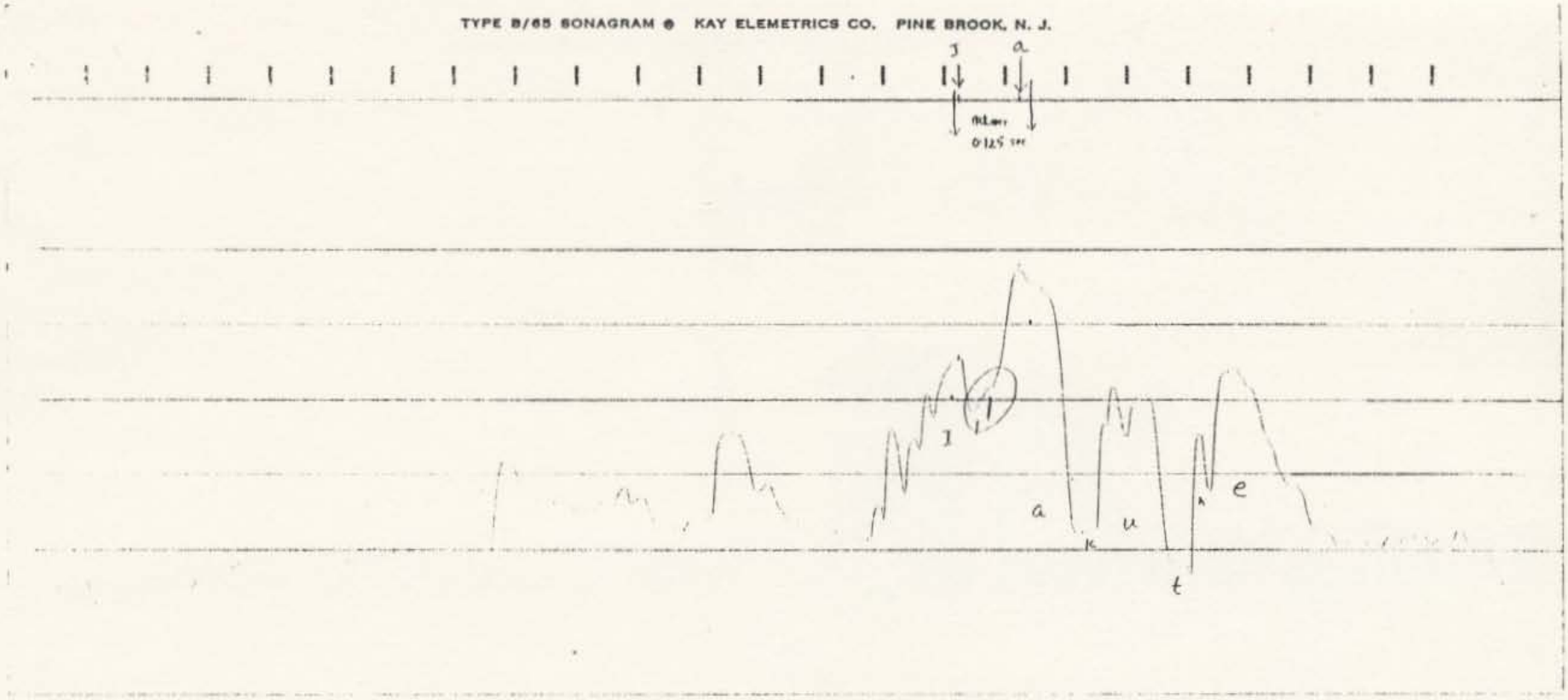

Figure 9.2 Spectrogram of Il l'écoutait. [il· akut^{h}e] Overall amplitude display 0-3000 Hz. The first syllable boundary is not clean. There is a "shoulder" on the lower onset slope of the [a] following the lengthened [l].

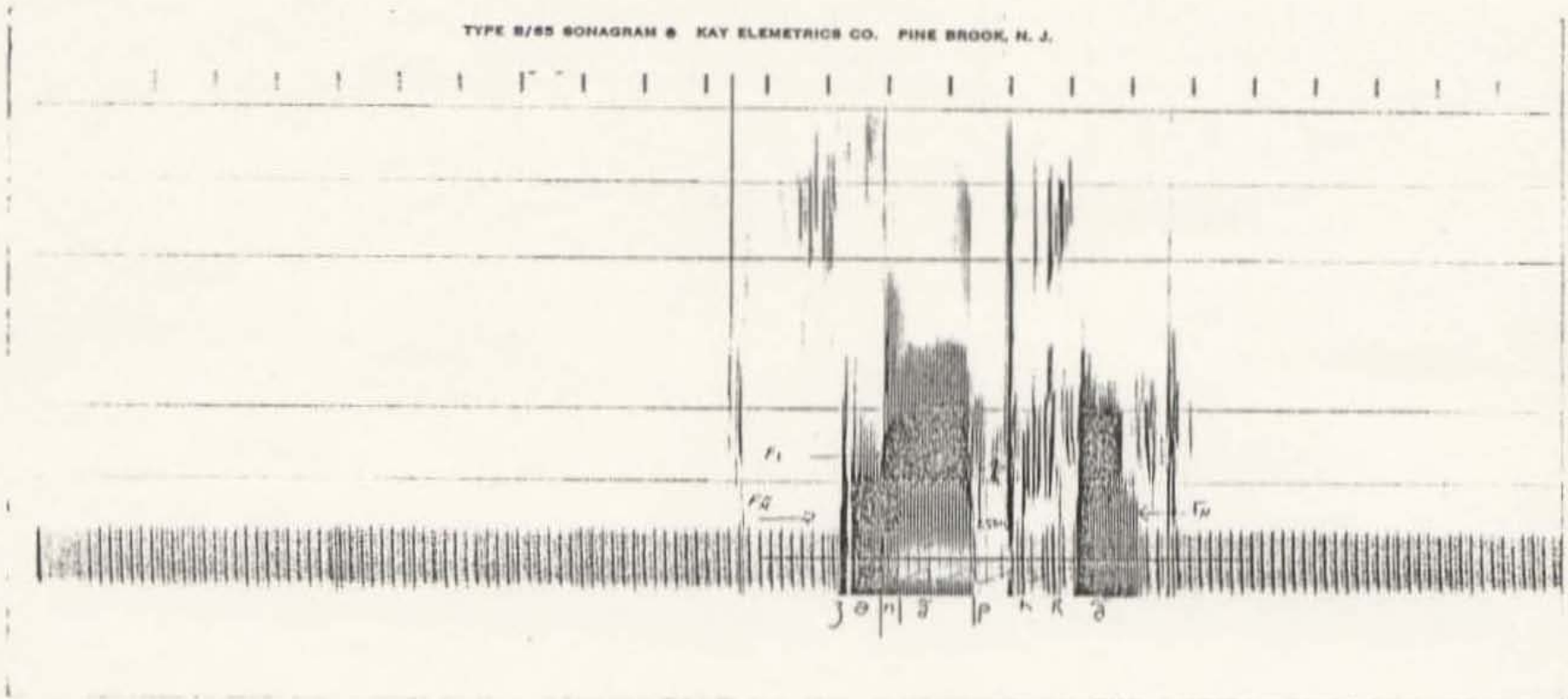

Figure 9.4 Spectrogram of J'en prends. [ʒə nɑ̃ pʀɑ̃]. Linear expand 0-3000 Hz. [d] is nasalized.

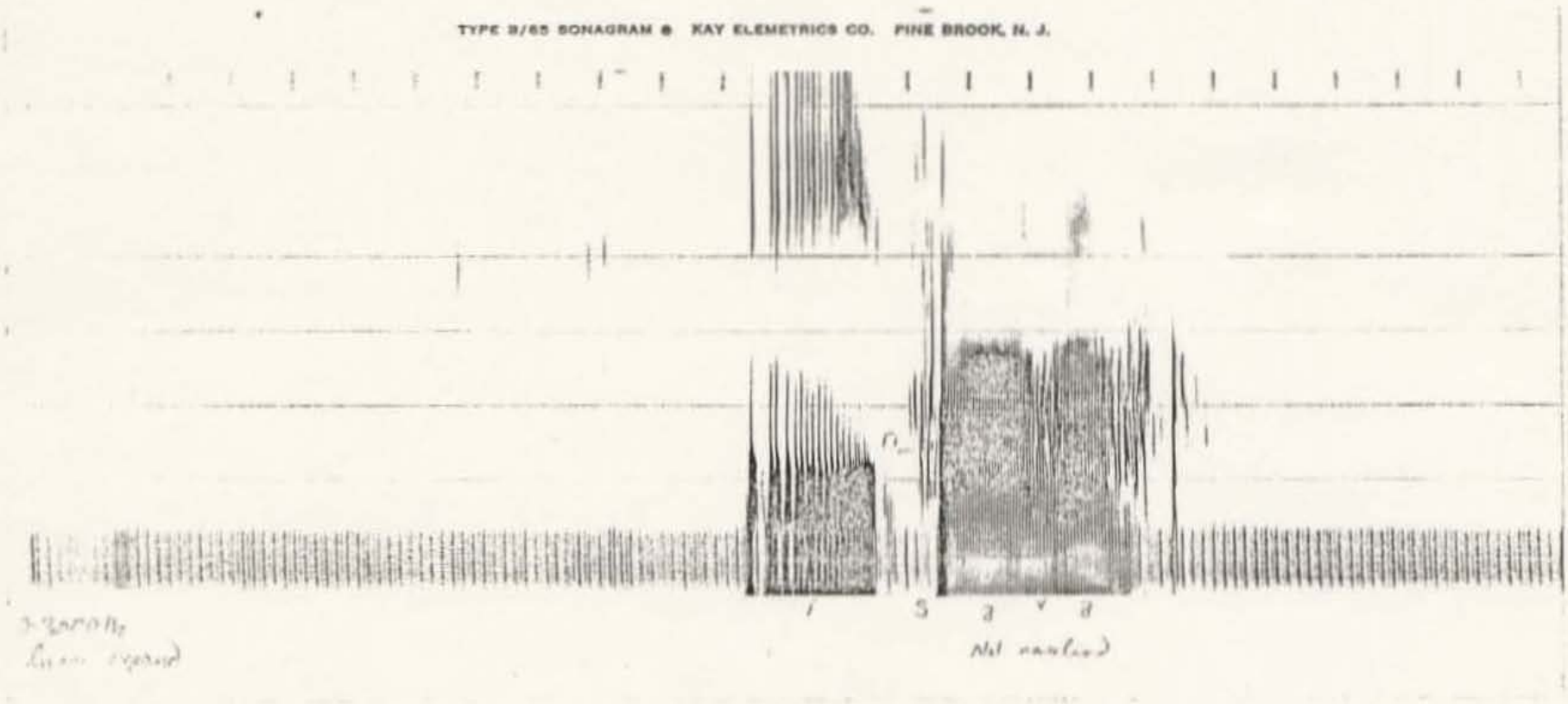

Figure 9.3 Spectrogram of Il s'en va. [i sa va] Linear expand o-3000 Hz. [a] is not nasalized.

APPENDIX C

- THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Part A. (Average duration 1 hour; presented in French)

1. Can you tell me about how it was that the first French people settled here? Where did they come from, settle, etc.? What about your own family?

2. What was it like here when you were young (younger informant: a child)?
   Tell me about what people did for a living, education in those days, childhood games, entertainment.

3. Can you tell me about what people did at Christmas, Easter, La Chandeleur, La Toussaint?

(Questions were asked in French around these topics. The order was not rigidly followed; when it appeared the informant wished to discuss other topics, cues were followed up.)

Part B. (Average duration ½ hour - 1 hour; presented in English)

Translation sentences:

L Deletion

1. He tells the truth.
2. He listens to the radio.
3. He told the truth.
4. He listened to it.
5. She tells the truth.
6. She listens to the radio.
7. She told the truth.

8. She listened to it,
9. They tell the truth.
10. They listen to the radio.
11. They told the truth.
12. They listened to it.
13. He puts it on the table.
14. She puts it on the table.
15. He puts them on the table.
16. It's necessary to have money.
17. It was necessary to have money.
18. He needs money.
19. He tells him the truth.
20. You told him the truth.
21. It is necessary to tell him the truth.
22. It is necessary to write him a letter.

En:Cliticization

23. I take some.
24. He takes some.
25. I buy some.
26. He buys some.
27. I took some.
28. He ate some.
29. I was eating some.
30. He was eating some.
31. I was buying some.
32. He was buying some.

33. He goes off.

34. He went off.

35. There are some.

36. Eat some.

37. I don't eat any.

38. I make him eat some.

39. I am going to eat some.

40. Do you eat some?

41. Did you eat some?

First and Second Person Cliticization

42. He gives me some money.

43. He gives me some.

44. Give me that.

45. Give me some.

46. He is going to give me some money.

47. He makes me drink this beer.

48. He makes me drink it.

49. Does he give me some money?

50. Does he give me some?

51. He gives you (singular) some money.

52. He gives you (singular) some.

53. He is going to give you (singular) some money.

54. He makes you (singular) drink this beer.

55. He makes you (singular) drink it.

56. Does he give you (singular) some money?

57. He is going to give you (singular) some.
58. He gives us some money.
59. He gives us some.
60. He is going to give us some money.
61. He makes us drink this beer.
62. He makes us drink it.
63. He doesn't give us any money.
64. Does he give us any money?
65. Give it to us.
66. Give us some.
67. He gives you (plural) some money.
68. He gives you (plural) some.
69. He is going to give you (plural) some money.
70. He makes you (plural) drink this beer.
71. He makes you (plural) drink it.
72. He is going to give you (plural) some.
73. He is going to give us some.
74. He is going to give me some.

Y Cliticization

75. I go there.
76. We go there.
77. They think about it.
78. You (singular) think about it.
79. They go there.

Third Person Cliticization

80. He gives it to him.
81. He gives them to him.
82. Give it to Pierre.
83. Give it to him.
84. Give it to me.
85. Does he give it to Pierre?
86. He gave it to him.
87. Give them to Pierre.
88. Give them to me.
89. Give them to him.
90. Does he give them to Pierre?
91. He is going to give them to Pierre.
92. He is going to give it to Pierre.
93. He is going to give them to him.
94. He is going to give it to him.
95. Does he give him the beer?
96. He gives them the beer.
97. He is going to give them the beer.
98. He is going to give it to them.
99. Does he give them the beer?
100. Give it to him.
101. Give them to them.
102. He gives it to them.
103. Give them some money.
104. Give them some.

105. He gave them some money.

106. He gave them some.

107. I make him eat.

108. I make him eat some.

109. I made him eat.

110. I made him eat some.

Reflexive Cliticization

111. I get up.

112. I got up.

113. You (singular) get up.

114. You (singular) got up.

115. He gets up.

116. He got up.

117. We get up.

118. We got up.

119. You (plural) get up.

120. You (plural) got up.

121. They get up.

122. They got up.

123. He makes himself eat his dinner.

124. I made myself eat my dinner.

Part C. Background Information. (Average duration 10–15 minutes; presented in French)

1. Sex

2. Age

3. Home community
4. Education
5. Place of birth
6. Father's place of birth
7. Mother's place of birth
8. Paternal grandfather's place of birth
9. Paternal grandmother's place of birth
10. Maternal grandfather's place of birth
11. Maternal grandmother's place of birth
12. What language(s) do you speak at home?
13. With whom do you speak French?
14. How often do you speak French?
15. How many years have you spent away from the Port-au-Port area?
16. Do you work outside of the home?
17. Do you want to continue to live in the Port-au-Port area?

Part D. Language Intuitions. (Average duration 15-20 minutes; presented in French)

1. Do people from the different communities around here all speak the same?
2. Which French around here is most like the French of France?
3. Which French around here is most like the French of Nova Scotia?
4. Do you think the French spoken around here has many English words in it?
5. Is the French spoken in Stephenville like the French spoken in Stephenville Crossing?
6. Are there any differences in the French spoken in Cap St.-Georges?
7. Do people in L'Anse-à-Canards speak French like people in Maisons-d'Hiver?

8. Are there any differences in the French spoken in La Grand'Terre?

9. How often do you hear the following sentences?

   A. Je lui dis ça.

   B. Je leur dis ça.

   C. Il en sait joliment.

   D. Je le lui dis.

   E. Il s'en fait manger.

Part E. Language Attitudes

1. Where do they speak the best French?

2. Where do they speak the best French around here?

APPENDIX D

– SAMPLE FREE CONVERSATION TRANSCRIPT

In the following transcripts r = ʁ. For the French orthography -t- has been arbitrarily chosen for the final segment of regularized verbs in the third person plural.

M.F., older L'Anse-à-Canards female.

ste mejœr a la bar wi il avjõ boku d tɛr
C'était meilleur à la Barre, oui. Il aviont beaucoup de terre
Yes, it was better at the Barre. They had lots of land

e pi i fezjõ lø peʃ la a la bar ɛ̃
et puis i' faisiont leur pêche-là à la Barre, hein.
and they fished at the Barre.

bɛ̃ se dãl tã ki ʃãʒjõ lə mõd ɛ̃ ki mɛtjõ le
Bien c'est dans le temps qu'i' changiont le monde, hein, qu'i' mettiont les -
Well that was the time when they moved people, when they put the -

i vuljõ ʒətjõ ʃãʒe disi a stivənvɪl
I' vouliont j'étions changé d'ici à Stephenville.
They wanted us to move from here to Stephenville.

ɛʒ se pa porkwa fɛr dez afɛr də mɛm
Je sais pas pourquoi faire des affaires de même
I don't know why people do things like that

pi la lə mõd də stivənvɪl sõt oblize də sɔrtir
Puis là le monde de Stephenville sont obligés de sortir
And now people from Stephenville have to come out

ã ho isi peʃe søz ki travai pa sa fe kija
en-haut ici pêcher ceuses qui travaille pas. Ça fait qu'y a
here to fish, those who don't have a job. There isn't

pa grã rezõ lad dã nõ me sa se tã la astœr
pas grand'raison là-dedans, non, mais ça ces temps-là asteure
much reason to it, no, but in those days . . .

a bjɛ̃ kil avõ ʃãʒe lə mõd d la bar ã ho me s mõd
ah bien qu'il avont changé le monde de La Barre en haut mais ce monde
well they moved people up from the Barre but these people

la hate boku pars ki jave pa də lɛktrɪsite
là hâtait beaucoup parce qu'y avait pas de l'ectricité
left right away because there was no electricity

e sa ɑ̃ bɑ la me sil ɑʀjõ reste avɛk
et ça en bas-là. Mais s'il auriont resté avec
or any of that down there. But if they had stayed, with

lə lə progre ki sə fe ɑ̃ bɑ a lɔŋ paint
le, le progrès qui se fait en bas à Long Point
the progress that they are making at Long Point

astœr a blu biʧ il ɑʀõ jø lelɛktʀisite a
asteure à Blue Beach, il aront eu l'électricité à
now, at Blue Beach, they would have had the electricity

desɑ̃d, ʒə sʏr il ɑʀõ ptɛ·t ete boku
descendre, je (suis) sûre. Il aront peut-être été beaucoup
down there, I'm sure. They would have been much

ply ɑʀø paʀs kil avjõ də la tɛr ɑ̃ mas pi
plus heureux parce qu'il avaient de la terre en masse puis
happier because they had lots of land but

astœr i nɑn avõ pa
asteure il en avont pas.
now they don't have any.

R.K.: Y a-ti du monde d'ici qui avont allé à Stephenville?
Did people from here move to Stephenville?

M.F.: jɑ̃na ka kite wi ja la fam a batɪs lɑ
Y en a qu'a quitté, oui, y a la femme à Batis - là.
There are some who left, yes, there is Batis' wife.

bjɛ̃ jɛl ɛl a ʃɑ̃ʒe apre kə sõ maʀi a mɒri
bien elle, elle a changé après que son mari a mouri
Well she moved after her husband died

bjɛ̃ ɛl a ʃɑ̃ʒe a la kupe a bɑswalɪs pa
bien elle a changé à la Coupée à Boswalis, pas
she moved to La Coupée, to Boswalis, not

bɑswalɪs ejkətuna se pa mejœr
Boswalis, Agathuna . . . C'est pas meilleur.
Boswalis, Agathuna . . . It's no better.

si jaʀa də luvraʒ ɑ̃ mas a stivənvɪl
Si y aura de l'ouvrage en masse à Stephenville
If there were a lot of work in Stephenville

sa frɛ mɛ ja pa duvraz la i sõt oblize
ça ferait- mais y a pas d'ouvrage là i' sont obligés
that would be- but there is no work there. They are forced

da kite se jũna ka kite il avõ ɛte
de quitter. C'est- y en a qu'a quitté, il avont été
to leave. It's- there are some who left, they went

rɛste a wɛz bej ẽ me s mõd la desũdõ
rester à West Bay, hein. Mais ce monde là descendont
to live in West Bay. But these people go down to

a la bar pi ã ba isi por peʃe dɑ l·prẽtã
à La Barre puis en bas ici pour pêcher dans le printemps.
the Barre and they come down here to fish in the spring.

se ãkor boku plys də mizɛr por jøs
C'est encore beaucoup plus de misère pour eux.
It's still trouble for them.

J.B., older L'Anse-à-Canards male.

bẽ lɛ prɛmjezabitã disi savõ vəny də kap brɛtõ
Bien, les premiers habitants d'ici, ç'avont venus de Cap Breton.
Well the first settlers here came from Cape Breton.

le dʌfəni wɛ se le prɛmje kavny por isi
Les Duffenais, oui, c'est les premiers qu'a venu par ici.
The Duffenais, yes, they were the first who came here.

le dʌfəni il õ vəny də kap brɛtõ me il õ rɛste a
Les Duffenais, il ont venu de Cap Breton, mais il ont resté à
The Duffenais came from Cape Breton but they went to live at

wɛz bej il avõ rɛste a stivɛnvil pi·l avõ rɛste
West Bay. Il avont resté à Stephenville puis il avont resté
West Bay. They lived in Stephenville then they lived

a wɛz bej me i vɛnjõ isi peʃe lə prẽtã e se
à West Bay mais i' veniont ici pêcher le printemps et c'est
in West Bay but they came here to fish in the spring and it's

por sa sezãdrwa la ɛte aple dẽ mezõ divɛr
pour ça ces endroits-là a été appelés des Maisons d'Hiver.
for that reason that these places were called the winter houses.

ã ho la i vɛnjõ peʃe isi dã lãs la aple la plɛn
En haut-là i' veniont pêcher ici dans l'Anse-là, appelée la Plaine.
They came up here to Black Duck Brook to fish, what they called the Plain.

pi la i savõ bati ã hõ purs jave dy bwa ã
Puis là, i' s'avont bâti en haut parce y avait du bois en
Then they built houses up there because there was a lot of

mas dã s tã la pi·l avõ aple sa lø mezõ diver
masse dans ce temps-là. Puis il avont appelé ça leurs Maisons d'Hiver.
wood in those days. Then they called it their Winter Houses.

i restjõ la liver lete i restjõ aijuskija lə ruso la
I' restiont là l'hiver, l'été i' restiont où-ce-qu' y a le ruisseau-là.
They lived there during the winter and in the summer they lived down by
the brook.

i vənjõ pe·je isi pi· restjõ aijuskija lə ruso wi
I' veniont pêcher ici puis i' restiont où-ce-qu' y a le ruisseau. Oui
They came here to fish and they lived down by the brook. Well,

bẽ la liver il avõ ete se bati a a wint› haus
bien là, l'hiver il avont été se bâtir à à Winter House-là
in the winter they had built houses at Winter Houses,

la mezõ diver il avõ aple jave trwa frer də
Maisons d'Hiver il l'avont appelé. Y avait trois frères de
Maisons d'Hiver, they called it. There were three

se dafrni la e mõ grãper bẽ lui avny
ces Duffenais là et mon grand-père, bien, lui a venu
Duffenais brothers and my grandfather, well he came from

də la grãter lui avny də la grãter la
de La Grand'Terre, lui a venu de La Grand'Terre-là.
La Grand'Terre, he came from La Grand'Terre.

pi sabite la e pi lo·t frãse filiks sa·se
Puis i' s'habitait là et puis l'autre Français, Felix, ça c'est
Then he lived here and then Felix, another Frenchman. He was

desãdã frãse sõ per te frãse lə vjø
descendant français. Son père était Français, le vieux
of French descent. His father was French, old

lui filiks e lui avny reste la
Louis Felix et lui a venu resté là
Louis Felix and he came to live here.

pare kom mõ grãper mõ grãper
pareil comme mon grand-père, mon grand-père
like my grandfather, my grandfather

e ne a tɛrnœv se tus kəʒ pø wɛ·r
est né à Terre-Neuve. C'est tout ce que je peux voir.
was born in Newfoundland. That's all I can see.

lɥi tə ne a tɛrnœv sõ pɛr mõ grɑ̃ grɑ̃ pɛr
Lui était né à Terre-Neuve. Son père, mon grand-grand-père
He was born in Newfoundland. His father, my great-grandfather

vɛne də frɑ̃s
venait de France.
came from France.